HEINRICH EWALD

WITTON DAVIES

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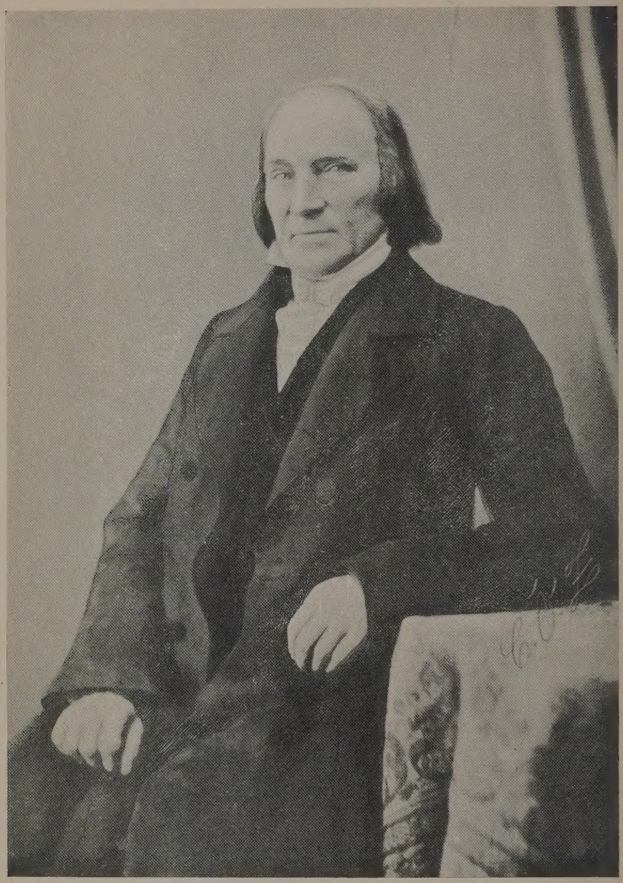

Henry Ewald, D.D.

Frontispiece.

HEINRICH EWALD

ORIENTALIST AND THEOLOGIAN

1803–1903

A Centenary Appreciation

BY

T. WITTON DAVIES, B.A., PH.D., M.R.A.S., ETC.

PROFESSOR OF OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE AT THE BAPTIST COLLEGE, BANGOR
AND OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AT THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, BANGOR

AUTHOR OF
"MAGIC, DIVINATION, AND DEMONOLOGY AMONG THE HEBREWS" ETC.

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TO

PROFESSOR THEODORE NÖLDEKE, PH.D., D.D.,

OF STRASBURG,

AND

PROFESSOR JULIUS WELLHAUSEN, PH.D., D.D.,

OF GÖTTINGEN;

ALSO, BY PERMISSION OF THE FAMILY,

TO THE MEMORY OF THE LATE

PROFESSOR AUGUST DILLMANN, PH.D., D.D.,

OF BERLIN,

ALL BRILLIANT PUPILS OF EWALD'S,

AND HIGHLY ESTEEMED TEACHERS

OF MY OWN.

THE AUTHOR.

FOREWORD

THE contents of this little volume have grown out of the Inaugural Address on the subject which the author delivered on the 1st of October 1902, at the opening of the 1902–1903 session of the North Wales University College, Bangor, Principal H. R. Reichel, M.A., LL.D., presiding. The address was intended to form an article in *The Expository Times*, and it had been promised, as such, to the editor of that excellent magazine. But it grew so much in the re-writing that it became too large for a magazine. And so, rather than throw overboard any of the cargo which he had with some labour collected, the writer resolved to issue a booklet, in the hope, if not, indeed, the belief, that the life herein described might be found at once interesting and stimulating. It is well at times to recall the deeds of men whose names are landmarks in the world of thought or action, or of both. Ewald's is certainly one of these names, and the Centenary of his birth supplies a fitting occasion for calling attention afresh to the life that this great man lived, and the work he accomplished.

The author would like to say that this booklet is

by no means as good nor as full as he could make it if he had more leisure, and if such a library as the Bodleian were within reach. But the booklet is as full and as free from defects as the author could make it in such time as twenty hours a week lecturing and much other work, academic, etc., allowed him, and in a place so remote from great libraries as Bangor. Fortunately, the author has on his own bookshelves most of the literature referred to. He would like to thank the Rev. Canon Driver for the readiness and courtesy with which he has revised the Bibliography, making some suggestions for greater fulness and accuracy. The learned Canon has had the kindness also to consult the Bodleian Library in one or two cases in which that was necessary.

The author's thanks are also due and are hereby presented to the following:—To my dear friend and neighbour, Rev. T. Gasquoine, B.A., pupil and friend of Dr. Samuel Davidson, for reading the proofs and making several suggestions; to Professor E. Kautzsch, D.D., Mrs. Rowland Williams, Dr. Theodore Dillmann, and Miss Ewald for the loan or gift of photographs and letters.

It will be seen that large parts of the address are retained exactly as they were spoken; especially is this the case at the beginning and end of this work.

Bryn Haul, Victoria Drive,
Bangor, North Wales, 17*th February* 1903.

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HEINRICH EWALD

CHAPTER I

Birth and Education (1803–1823)

George Heinrich August Ewald, or Heinrich Ewald as he usually signed himself, was born at Göttingen on the 16th day of November 1803. Hence, in a little over twelve months, the centenary of the birth of that great scholar and that greater man will be celebrated in Germany and in other countries. Entering upon life at the opening of the century that has recently closed, he was, without doubt, the greatest Old Testament scholar of the century, and he produced books at once more numerous, more original, and more valuable than did any other writer in the same field during that century. Such a combination of rare scholarship in many departments, of singular courage and independence, of almost unexampled productiveness as author, and of teaching power scarcely inferior, is hardly to be found in any other single man; certainly it has been very rarely, if ever, surpassed. In

addition to the qualities mentioned, this man was devoted to the highest moral ideals, and was prepared, as events proved, to sacrifice everything material rather than sacrifice principle. As we are just entering upon a new session of our North Wales University College, it has seemed to me a suitable thing to call attention to one born just upon one hundred years ago, who was so near being an ideal teacher and student. The example of such a man ought to quicken in every teacher and every student the desire, nay the resolve, to make the best of himself and of his opportunities.

Ewald's father was a linen-weaver in a small way at Göttingen. The *von* sometimes prefixed to his name, though rarely, if ever, by himself, is not a hereditary title, but one conferred upon him by the King of Würtemberg when, in 1838, he became Professor at Tübingen, which is in the kingdom of Würtemberg. Ewald himself thought little of external decorations the like of this, and his habit was to sign himself simply Heinrich, or, when writing to English people, Henry Ewald.

He was sent by his father, first of all, to a local girls' school. On the 28th day of March 1815, the year of Waterloo, at the age of eleven and a half, he entered the Gymnasium of his native place, mainly through the influence and financial aid of local professors, who noticed the lad's outstanding abilities and wished to give him a good start.[1] He soon made a deep impression upon his teachers and

[1] See Dillmann on Ewald in Brockhaus, Conversations Lexicon.

fellow-scholars by his natural gifts and by his industry. He retained during the five years he remained at the Gymnasium the character thus early won.

A UNIVERSITY STUDENT

At the age of sixteen and a half Heinrich Ewald became a student of the University of Göttingen, then the most famous and even the largest in Germany. Göttingen University is to Britons the most interesting of all the German Universities, for its foundation and original endowments are due to the intelligence and generosity of our King George II., who was at the time Elector of Hanover and Brunswick as well as King of Great Britain and Ireland. He was warmly seconded in his efforts by his minister Münchhausen. For many years most Britons who studied in Germany went by preference to Göttingen. Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Wordsworth became students in the fall of 1799, though the latter found it hard to follow the lectures and soon removed for the winter to Goslar in the Hartz, his sister being with him; but the two poets met frequently. William Robertson Smith, Canon Cheyne, and William Medley of Rawdon, most beloved of Baptist professors, were for some time at Göttingen, as were the Americans Longfellow the poet and Bancroft and Motley the historians. Of German students it is enough to name Goethe, Baron Bunsen, Heine (who was expelled for irregular conduct), Herder, and

Lotze the philosopher. It was in the summer Semester of 1820 that Ewald matriculated in the University of his native town. Before commencing his University course he had acquired an extensive and solid acquaintance with the classical languages, and could read Greek and Latin authors with comparative ease. He had also made a good beginning with Hebrew at the Gymnasium, so that he was prepared to enter Eichhorn's lectures on Old Testament Introduction and Exegesis. In Germany, Elementary Hebrew is generally mastered at the Gymnasium; one can hardly think of Ewald, Delitzsch, Dillmann, or Nöldeke teaching men how to write the Hebrew alphabet. Even the elements of Arabic and other Eastern languages are not seldom attacked before the University stage is reached. Professor Budde, D.D., now of Marburg, was teacher of Hebrew at the Strasburg Gymnasium as well as Professor of Hebrew ("Theology") at the University of the same city, until he left for Marburg in 1900. Max Müller tells us in his *Autobiography*[1] that he learned what Hebrew he knew at the Nicolai School, Leipzig, before entering the University of the same city. No wonder Germany has produced so many eminent Semitic scholars!

Ewald's principal teachers at Göttingen were Thomas Christian Tychsen (†1834), Professor of Theology, and Johann Gottfried Eichhorn, Professor of Oriental Languages, including Old Testament Literature (†1833). Of both these men Ewald has

[1] *My Autobiography: A Fragment* (1901), p. 98.

given an account, of their achievements and of their outstanding characteristics.[1] Though Tychsen held the position of Professor of Theology at the University, he was more eminent as an Oriental and classical scholar and as an archæologist than as a theologian. He wrote an Arabic Grammar and several books on Oriental Archæology, especially Numismatics.

Eichhorn was one of those prodigies of vast and varied learning more common in former times than in our own. He taught the most important Oriental languages, and had charge of the department of Modern History and Literature. For fifty-two years he lectured with extraordinary regularity and energy: his lecture hours were over twenty a week. At the very last they were fourteen. He composed an Introduction to the Old Testament, which was published in three volumes in 1780–83. The fourth edition (1823),[2] which is in my possession, is in five octavo volumes, averaging over 600 pages apiece. He wrote also Introductions to the Apocrypha[3] and to the New Testament writings,[4] and over a dozen volumes of history. Besides teaching so many subjects and writing so many meritorious works, this diligent man found time to produce eighteen volumes of a *Repertory of Biblical and Oriental Literature*[5]

[1] *Über die wissenschaftliche Wirksamkeit der ehemal.* Gött. Lehrer J. D. Michaelis, J. G. Eichhorn, Th. Chr. Tychsen. *Jahrbücher*, vol. i. p. 26 ff.

[2] 1st edition, 1787. [3] 1795. [4] 1804–12.

[5] *Repertorium für biblische und morgenländische Literatur*: begun 1777.

and ten volumes of a *Universal Library of Biblical Literature*.[1] Eichhorn was the founder of Old Testament criticism in the modern sense, and it was he who coined the phrases "Higher" and "Lower" Criticism to designate the study of the *sense* and of the *text* of Scripture. A thousand pities that the words are not still used exclusively with the original meanings!

In the year 1825, eight years before Eichhorn's death, Dr. Pusey, then an Oxford student of distinction, became a pupil of the great Göttingen savant. Canon Liddon in his *Life of Pusey* writes:[2] —"From Eichhorn Pusey learned the vastness of the world of modern learning and the standard of work which was necessary in order to explore it. When, in later years, he would say, 'a German professor would think nothing of doing so and so,' he meant Eichhorn." Though Ewald was theological tutor[3] at Göttingen during Pusey's studentship at the University, I find no record of their coming together; it is, however, very likely that young men of tastes so kindred, each a warm admirer of Eichhorn, did become acquaintances if not friends. In the summer[4] of 1826 Pusey visited Germany for a second time, with the "double purpose," as he says, "of acquainting himself further with the German theology, and of learning the cognate dialects of Hebrew." The first part of this purpose he carried out by attending lectures[5] by Schleiermacher (†1834) and Neander

[1] *Allgemeine Bibliothek der biblischen Literatur*, 1787–1800.
[2] I. 74. [3] Repetent. [4] June 17th. [5] At Berlin.

(†1850). Semitics he studied mainly under the guidance of Hengstenberg (†1869), whose acquaintance had been made first of all at Oxford, and to whom during his first visit to Berlin he had become closely attached. These men, so much alike in many points, remained fast friends to the last. When the summer Semester came to an end Pusey moved out of the heat of Berlin to a village on the outskirts called Schönhausen, and here he worked hard at Arabic under a private tutor, Solomon Munk, who in later years had a distinguished literary career in Paris. He is said at this time to have devoted from fourteen to sixteen hours a day to the study of Arabic.[1] For some weeks Pusey settled at Greifswald on the shores of the Baltic, reading Arabic and Syriac under the distinguished Orientalist, Kosegarten (1792–1860). Then he passed on to Bonn on the Rhine, in order to have the advantage of studying Arabic under Freytag (†1861), compiler of what is even yet the best Arabic Lexicon by a Western scholar, for Lane's was never completed except in a fragmentary way, and Dozy's is but a supplement to the Lexicons of Freytag and others. Ewald was at the time *famulus* or class monitor in the Arabic class which Pusey joined, according to Liddon's *Life*[2] and the smaller *Life*[3] which, in the early part, is based on Liddon's; but there is grave reason to doubt the accuracy of what Liddon says

[1] *Life*, I. 96. [2] I. 105.

[3] See p. 33 of *The Story of Dr. Pusey's Life*, by the author of *Charles Lowder*, 1900, crown 8vo, i–xix, 1–570.

of Ewald's life at Bonn. Just at this time a warm and acrimonious dispute was going on between Ewald and Freytag, due in the first place to the attack on Freytag in Ewald's book on Arabic Metres.[1] Freytag's resentment was keen, and it remained at least up to 1830, when he replied to Ewald in the Preface to his book on the Art of Arabic Verse. Even if Ewald were a member of Freytag's class, it is exceedingly unlikely that he occupied the post of honour given to the student called the *famulus*, who is a sort of go-between of the professor and his class. Pusey made a long stay at Berlin before coming to Bonn, and Ewald was about the same time working at Sanscrit under Bopp and Rosen in the same city. Not at all unlikely Canon Liddon confounds Berlin with Bonn; it is probable that it was at Berlin the two young men became so attached, and that Ewald never studied at Bonn at all. After writing the above I thought it well to consult Professor Wellhausen, and his answer, under date November 26, 1902, is this: "Ewald ist niemals langere Zeit in Bonn und am wenigstens Famulus von Freytag gewesen; der Canon Liddon phantasirt oder verwechselt Bonn und Berlin. In Berlin ist Ewald A.D. 1826 gewesen, um bei Bopp Sanscrit zu treiben."[2] Professor Kamphausen of Bonn, a personal friend of Ewald's, says

[1] See Bibliography, No. 2.

[2] "Ewald was never for a long time at Bonn, and least of all was he Freytag's *famulus*; Canon Liddon draws upon his fancy, or he confounds Bonn and Berlin. Ewald was in Berlin in A.D. 1826, for the purpose of studying Sanscrit under Bopp."

(December 9, 1900): "Ewald hat nie in Bonn studiert . . . Ich selbst bin Schüler von Freytag, der mir oft von seinem früheren Schüler Hengstenberg sprach, niemals von Pusey."[1] Kamphausen seems to throw doubt upon the fact that even Pusey studied under Freytag at Bonn. Perhaps Liddon has simply confounded Berlin and Bonn, Freytag being put in by himself as he was Professor of Arabic at that University. Professor Nöldeke of Strasburg, the celebrated Semitic scholar, Ewald's favourite pupil, and a beloved teacher of my own, tells me in a letter of December 22, 1902, "In Bonn hat Ewald nicht studiert."[2]

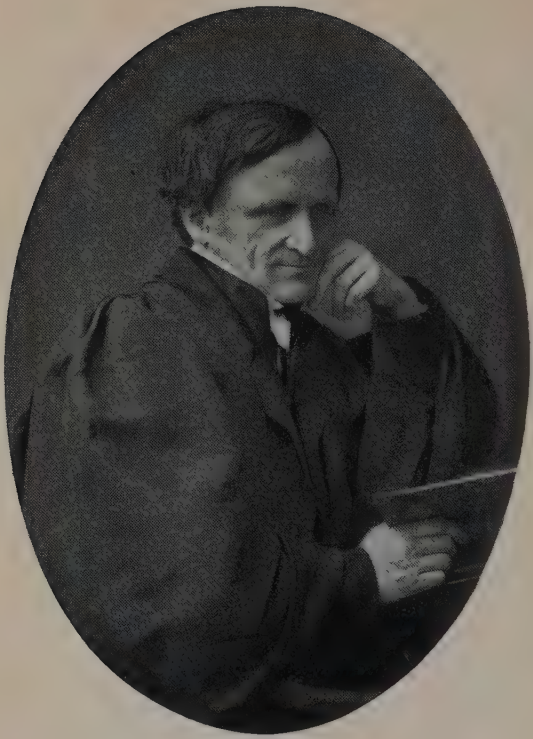
There is no reason to question the closeness of the friendship which arose between Ewald and Pusey, wherever it came about. When later on Pusey published a catalogue of Arabic books in the Bodleian (?), Ewald was one of the first to write in praise of the work. Pusey in those years gave promise of becoming a distinguished Orientalist and biblical scholar, but, as in the case of Tholuck, other things soon claimed and won his attention, and the prophecy of early years was not fulfilled. The affectionate attachment which seems at one time to have bound Ewald and Pusey was gradually loosened, Pusey having become an uncompromising opponent of the school of biblical

[1] "Ewald never studied at Bonn . . . I am myself a pupil of Freytag's, who often spoke to me of his former pupil Hengstenberg, never of Pusey."

[2] "At Bonn Ewald was not a student."

criticism of which Ewald was so brilliant an ornament, and neither of these great men was willing to allow to others the freedom of thought which they claimed for themselves and exercised. In 1862 Ewald paid his last visit to England. At Oxford he was guest of the late Max Müller,[1] who says that Ewald, though then just touching his sixtieth year, was the only man he ever remembered who, "after copying Hebrew MSS. for twelve hours at the Bodleian with nothing but a sandwich to sustain him, complained of the short time allowed there for work."[2] Max Müller actually says that Ewald was professor[3] (*sic!*) at Bonn when Pusey visited the place to study Arabic. That is outdoing Canon Liddon and his *famulus*. Ewald longed to call upon his whilom friend, then Canon of Christchurch and Professor of Hebrew—our Canon Driver is his successor; but he feared lest Pusey should *speak to him* as he had *written of him*. As a matter of fact Pusey was away at the time, but, on returning and learning Ewald's scruples about calling upon him, he gave a hearty laugh and said he would have been delighted to welcome his friend of long ago.[4] I cannot but refer at this point to one Welshman and two Englishmen whom Ewald visited during this his final English tour. The Englishmen were Dr. Samuel Davidson and Dean Stanley, of whom more anon; the Welshman was Rowland Williams of *Essays*

[1] *My Autobiography: A Fragment*, p. 287.
[2] *Ibid.* [3] *Op. cit.* p. 288.
[4] *Op. cit.*; also Liddon, i. 105 f.



very truly Yours,
Rowland Williams.

Photo by the London Stereoscopic and Photographic Co., Ltd.

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and Reviews renown, a native of Halkyn, Flintshire, and a near relative of one of the best known and most respected families in this city—a family closely identified with this College, greatly to the advantage of the College. Dr. Williams was one of whom Wales has good reason to be proud, but he was one of whom neither England nor Wales showed itself worthy.

I must now go back, after this long digression, to Ewald's student days. On the 16th of January 1823, at the age of nineteen years and three months, he graduated Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Göttingen, the chief part of the examination (*Hauptfach*) being in Oriental languages.

CHAPTER II

Teaching at Wolfenbüttel Gymnasium (1823–1824)

The next fifteen months we find Ewald Gymnasium teacher at Wolfenbüttel, seven miles away from Braunschweig (Brunswick), and some thirty-seven from Göttingen. It will be remembered that Lessing was librarian at the celebrated library of the town up to his death, in 1781. It was while acting in this capacity that he discovered the MS. of the Hamburg Gymnasium teacher Reimarus (†1768), a large portion of which he edited and published under the title *Fragmente eines Ungenannten*,[1] generally spoken of as the *Wolfenbütteler Fragment.* Ewald was not content with the conscientious discharge of his duties as school teacher; had he been, he would have remained a school teacher and nothing more to the end of his days. He devoted his spare hours to the copying and editing of Oriental MSS. in the Wolfenbüttel Library, and to the study of Pentateuch criticism, then becoming a burning question. It was during his teachership at this place that he published his first book, the subject being the *Composition of Genesis.*[2]

[1] *Fragments of an Unnamed (Writer).* [2] See Bibliography, No. 1.

AUDITORIUM, UNIVERSITY OF GÖTTINGEN.

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CHAPTER III

Teaching at Göttingen University (1824–1837)

Promotion came to Ewald early, but not sooner than deserved. At Easter 1824 he returned to Göttingen to be Repetent or tutor in theology. If Canon Liddon's account[1] of Ewald's residence at Bonn in 1826–27 for the sake of studying Arabic under Freytag is to be accepted as authentic, it will be seen that he was at the time one of the teachers of the University of Göttingen. But reasons have been given for questioning the accuracy of what Liddon says. No doubt, however, attaches to the fact that in 1826 Ewald proceeded to Berlin to prosecute special studies in Sanscrit under Bopp and F. A. Rosen, he being then Repetent at Göttingen. The close of his student days, in the strict sense, did not mark the close of his range of studies. He was always on the lookout for fresh discoveries or fresh knowledge of any kind, and everything was made to converge upon the Old Testament. In the first edition of his *Hebrew Grammar*, published in 1827, he made little or no use of Sanscrit in elucidating the principles of Hebrew grammar. But later editions

[1] I. 104.

of his *Grammar* show that he thought Sanscrit of great use for Hebrew. See especially his comparison of what he calls *das Semitische* and *das Sanscritische* in the Introduction to his *Grammars* of 1828, 1835, etc.[1] The rare occurrence of composite words in Semitic is compensated for, he thinks, to a large extent by the connection of words.[2]

As stated, his visits to Berlin and Bonn (?) were made after his appointment as Repetent at Göttingen. Ewald was as much a learner as a teacher to the very end of his life, and this accounts largely for his great success as professor and author. On the 25th of May 1827 he was appointed Extraordinary[3] Professor of Philosophy, the subjects he was to teach being Oriental languages. In the German universities "philosophy" includes all languages, as well as literature, philosophy proper, and natural science.

On the 20th of July 1831 he was made ordinary or full professor. Two years later, *i.e.* in 1833, Eichhorn died, and Ewald became the recognised successor of his illustrious master. All these appointments came to him before he was thirty years of age; but it should be remembered that between the ages of twenty and thirty he had written and published important books on the *Composition of Genesis*, on *Arabic and Sanscrit Metres* (two), *Hebrew and Arabic Grammars*, *Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, *Canticles*, etc. Even Gesenius, his jealous rival, could not

[1] Pp. 1–8 in the *Grammar* of 1835; cf. p. 220 of same edition.

[2] The *iḍāfa* of the Arabic grammarians.

[3] *I.e.* Supplementary or Assistant Professor.

deny that this young man deserved all the honours that came to him. If, in his case, promotion came more rapidly than to most men, who is there to deny that he showed more energy and industry than most men? The literary activity of those early years he continued to the close of his life, in 1875, at the age of seventy-two.

In 1833 he was elected a full member of the "Royal Scientific Society";[1] and in 1836 the University of Copenhagen, at its Jubilee celebration, conferred upon him the degree of Dr. Theol. *honoris causa.*

In 1830, aged twenty-seven years, he married the eldest daughter of the celebrated mathematician Gauss. From this time on to 1837 was the peacefullest and happiest period of his life, as he afterwards often said. Ever after 1837 Ewald was, to his death, involved in bitter contentions—political, theological, or academic. The marvel of it is that, in the midst of it all, he continued to produce article after article, book after book, his teaching going on all the while, bating short interruptions, for which the authorities were responsible, and not he himself.

[1] "Kön. Societät der Wissenschaften."

CHAPTER IV

Dismissed and Banished (1837–1838)

In 1837 a great crisis in Ewald's career arose. On the 26th of September 1833, during a political uprising, King William of Hanover, our King William IV., recognised and signed an amended Constitution, by which certain rights were secured for the people. In 1837 Ernestus Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, fifth son of our George III. of England, succeeded William of Hanover (IV. of England), who had died. His first act was to revoke the liberal Constitution adopted by his predecessor William, and the restoration of the Constitution of 1819. One of the provisions of the new Constitution declared that an heir to the throne who suffered from any physical or moral defect, was thereby debarred from the throne. The new king's only son was blind, and there can be no doubt that his main, if not his only, purpose in setting aside the Constitution of 1833 was to make his son legal heir to the throne. The leaders in both Church and State, and the people at large, were vehemently opposed to the arbitrary and illegal course taken by the king. The new Constitution secured the acknowledgment of the provincial diets, and the division of the chief diet or parliament into an upper

and lower house: it gave the lower house the exclusive right of initiating legislation, and handed over to the ministry the control of the finances. Our William IV. had granted these concessions in answer to the demands of the people—demands emphasised and enforced by riots at Göttingen and elsewhere. Many cities refused to send representatives to Parliament under the Constitution of 1819. Seven of the leading professors of the Royal University at Göttingen signed a strongly worded protest and sent it to Ernest Augustus. Professor Dahlmann was one of the twenty-one Commissioners selected by King William to draft the Constitution of 1833; he and Ewald were the leading spirits in organising the professorial counterblast. But the people protested all in vain. The king had a will of iron, and a furious temper withal. Opposition did but inflame his passions and stiffen his resolution. The imperious old man swore he would leave them no Constitution at all if they refused to accept the one he offered. Parliament was dissolved: the protesting professors were discharged from office and banished from the country. The people submitted, including those in authority, except the professors named: there seemed no help for it. Bluff, brutal, and self-willed as this characteristic Englishman was, after he had won on every point, he restored, of his own free will and accord, many of the privileges granted by his predecessor in 1833. Justice was never more impartially administered; the rich man was no longer allowed to make his own law for the poor; the finances of

the country were managed by himself more honestly than when they were in the hands of a responsible ministry. His rule was never to refuse to hear a complaint from the poorest in the land. A poor man is said to have once called upon him to complain that the magistrate of his village spent his time in hunting and in other sports instead of attending to his own duty; the business of the court being left to his clerk. The king listened to the end with the utmost patience, but said nothing. Before the complainant had reached the village, the king had already posted thither, made full inquiries, and discharged the neglectful official. Notwithstanding his rough exterior, King Ernest Augustus had a heart that was at its centre just, and even kind. In some measure he reminds one of "Old Fritz."

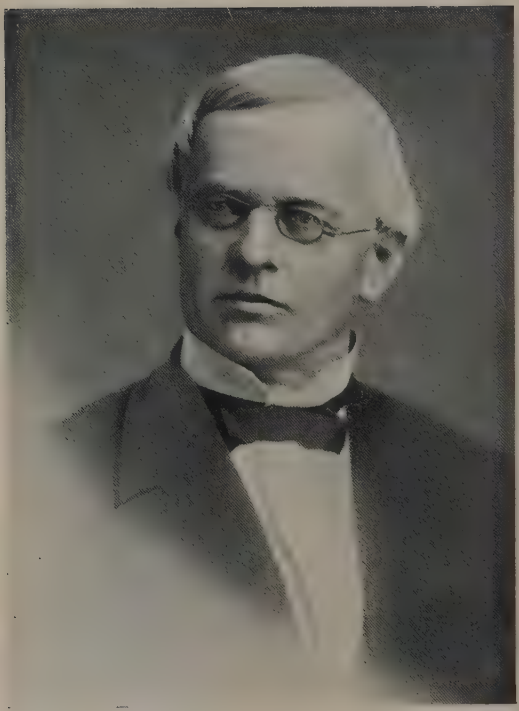
Let me return to the seven professors. Almost, if not quite, alone of the official class, they stood forth boldly as the champions of the people, and refused to take the oath of allegiance to the new king until he had first signed his acceptance of the Constitution of 1833. They were all seven dismissed from their professorships, and ordered to leave the country—a punishment literally carried out in each case.

Who were these seven—THE GÖTTINGEN SEVEN as they came to be called? Here they are in alphabetical order: W. E. Albrecht, Professor of Jurisprudence; Dahlmann, the historian, who became Professor at Bonn, where he died in 1878; Ewald; Gervinus, literary historian and critic, known in England chiefly

by his work on Shakespeare, which has appeared in an English dress; the brothers Grimm—Jacob and Wilhelm—so well known for their labours in Germanic philology and in Teutonic folk-lore; W. E. Weber, the brilliant physicist and electrician. These seven might be said to have *been* the University, for after their dismissal hardly any teachers of the highest eminence were left; and it is not to be wondered at that the number of students dropped from fifteen hundred to three hundred — one-fifth the number. The University has scarcely yet regained the position in the eyes of the world which it lost in 1837, though at the present time it can claim among its professors Wellhausen and Rudolf Smend, the Old Testament scholars; Schürer and Bousset, well known authorities on New Testament and allied themes; Hermann Schultz, the successor of Albert Ritschl; Kielhorn, the Sanscritist; and Klein, the mathematician.

Nor has the number of students ever equalled what it was in 1837 since that year, though in the summer Semester of 1901, part of which I myself spent at Göttingen, there were fourteen hundred students—the largest number since the *coup d'état* of 1837. Ewald and his companions made the brave stand they did, because they believed, rightly or wrongly, that the Constitution of the land was superior to the king; that the highest official of the State had no more right to alter the Constitution than the lowest, nay, than the meanest subject. They were prepared to abide by their principles, come what might, though no one knew better than they the consequences which

were likely to follow, for themselves and for their families. They were compelled to leave the country on or before the 14th of December 1837. Ewald spent the next half-year, months of enforced official retirement, in visiting the two principal libraries in England —the Bodleian, Oxford, and the British Museum, London. For one literary result of his four weeks' work at the Bodleian, see Bibliography, No. 18.



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CHAPTER V

Professor at Tübingen (1838–1848)

In May 1838, at the instigation of the King of Würtemberg, he was invited to become Professor of Oriental Philology at Tübingen, and for the next ten years he laboured with his usual intensity at this South German centre of learning. It was during his Tübingen professorship that Dillmann (my own teacher during the summer Semester of 1892),[1] himself a native of Würtemberg, joined his classes and came under the spell of his genius. More than once have I seen the full, carefully written notes of Ewald's lectures taken by young Dillmann: these notes are still piously preserved by the Dillmann family at Berlin. These ten years at Tübingen were years of great strenuousness in lecturing and in literary production; but they were also years of unceasing strife and struggle. At the end of that period he wrote a forty-paged pamphlet in which he reviewed his Tübingen life. Ewald was great at pamphlets: it was in them and in the prefaces to books, commentaries, history, etc., and in his University lectures, that he was accustomed to air his grievances. It is

[1] See *August Dillmann*, by the present writer, in *Expository Times*, vi. (1894–95), pp. 202, 248, 345, 382.

remarkable that in the books themselves the personal element is, at least ostensibly, omitted; and as his often very personal prefaces and pamphlets have not been translated into English, even when the books themselves for which the prefaces were written have been,[1] the mere English reader misses much of the mind of this very sensitive man. The pamphlet referred to came out in 1848. I have seen the second edition only, but that appeared in the same year as the first.[2] In it he complains strongly and bitterly of the treatment to which he was subjected throughout his stay at Tübingen—*i.e.* from 1838 to 1848. He refers to three distinct classes who had persecuted him and made his life miserable. First of all there were the Roman Catholics. Like some other Continental universities[3] that at Tübingen had, and still has, two theological faculties—one Protestant, the other Roman Catholic. Ewald was one of the founders of the *Protestant-Verein*, and he was a Protestant to the backbone, and lost no opportunity, in class or out, of making this clear. Roman Catholic leaders—professors, priests, and laymen—resented his outspoken and often unnecessarily harsh criticisms of the views they held, and they answered their critic in speeches, pamphlets, and no less in personal treatment. Ewald finds fault with his Protestant co-religionists that they did not stand by him when he was fighting their battle as well as his. But, in fact,

[1] *E.g.* the *Commentaries*, the *History of Israel*, the *Doctrine of God*, etc.

[2] See Bibliography, No. 21.

[3] Bern, Bonn, Breslau.

they were as much angered by his teaching and conduct as were the Catholics. On the one hand, he was an uncompromising opponent of the Baur-Strauss School of New Testament Criticism, and that school as represented by F. C. Baur (†1860) was then in the ascendant at Tübingen. To him the accepting of the opinions of that school meant the abandonment of Christianity, and he roused every power that was in him in the attempt to push back the tide of what he regarded as rationalism. It was at this time that he entered upon those New Testament studies which resulted in Commentaries on the Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles,[1] another proof of the versatility of this man.

But there were Protestants at Tübingen—some of them theological professors too—of a very different type from Baur and his sort, and they were equally the foes of Ewald. I refer to those who stood on the old lines on questions of biblical criticism, descendants of the Pietists, who were, and whose descendants are still, numerous and influential in Würtemberg. Indeed, it was from such a family that Dillmann himself came. To these Ewald was an enemy of the faith, an underminer of the very foundations of the Christian religion. They attacked him with the same vehemence with which he attacked the Baur-Strauss theologians, and for the very same reason. Ewald knew no policy of silence, or even of honeyed speech. What he believed he must out, and in clear speech,

[1] See Bibliography, Nos. 23, 31, 36, and 38; cf. also Nos. 17 and 39.

be the consequences what they might. It must be allowed that he advocated what he held to be right and true, less wisely than well. He was intolerant: what great leader has not been that? He made foes of even the men that wished to be his friends—men who admired his consistency and courage; but his intolerance arose from deep conviction, and it was conscientious, and his figure stands out from the men of the nineteenth century as one of the bravest and truest which that century can tell of.

In 1840 his wife (daughter, as stated, of the great mathematician Gauss) died, leaving no children. Four years later he married the daughter of Schleiermacher, head librarian of the well-known library at Darmstadt. This Schleiermacher was no relation of the distinguished preacher and theologian of that name, but he was a member of the Privy Council,[1] was on terms of intimacy with the Grand Duke, and he was well known to the leading scholars and literary men of Germany.

[1] *I.e.* he was a Geheimrath.

CHAPTER VI

Once more Professor at Göttingen University (1848–1867)

In 1847 the King of Hanover caused the liberal Constitution of 1833 to be restored, and, at the earnest solicitation of the University senate, an offer was made to Ewald to return, on most generous terms, to the position from which he had been dismissed ten years before. The offer was gladly accepted, for Ewald had never been at home at Tübingen, and he was a Hanoverian down to his boots.

From 1848 to 1866 he worked assiduously and happily at his old University. He was linked to Göttingen and its University by many ties. He was a native of the place. At the University he had studied and taught. It was at Göttingen that he wooed and wedded his first wife; and, truth to tell, Ewald's native city is beautiful for situation, one of the joys of all Germany. And what university has more interesting associations of teachers that were famous, and of students who were to become no less famous?

For the books written during these eighteen years, some of them of the utmost importance, see the

Bibliography. One of them was *The Doctrine of the Bible concerning God*,[1] which appeared in four volumes. In this work the author endeavours, with the aid of biblical scholarship and philosophy, to expound the doctrine of God and of revelation. Ewald had received no early training in philosophy or in dogmatic theology. In one respect this was an advantage, for it left him freer from *a priori* conceptions to work out his own conclusions. But no one can with impunity ignore the methods and achievements of his predecessors. In this work Ewald is altogether too subjective, his fancy carries him away; but it is of interest in Ewald's literary history, as it is the only work that shows him as a speculative theologian. And it is not to be denied that in it are to be found some of the finest things that Ewald ever wrote. An abstract of vols. i., ii., and iii. was put into English by my gifted predecessor in the presidential chair of the Baptist College, Nottingham, the late Rev. Thomas Goadby, B.A., a man of high character and of exceptional ability; though among Baptists, and even among those to whom he specially belonged,[2] he was never rated at anything like his proper value. Unfortunately, he died[3] when his best work was beginning to be done, and when, as it seemed, he was on the eve of giving full proof to the world of the gifts that were in him.

[1] See Bibliography, No. 33.

[2] General Baptists.

[3] In 1889.

CHAPTER VII

Hanover annexed to Prussia

In 1866, after the war of German ascendency, Hanover was annexed to Prussia. All officials of the now defunct Hanoverian kingdom, including university professors, were required to take the oath of allegiance to King William of Prussia. Ewald, alone of the professors and almost alone of Government officials, refused to do this. He had shown equal courage in 1856, when alone of the professors he protested against the unconstitutional policy of the ministry presided over by von Borries. His friends then thought him unwise, and he very narrowly escaped losing his chair for a second time. Ewald knew no compromise when principle was involved. With equal courage, and under more difficult circumstances, he took his stand in 1866. Force, he argued, gives no authority. Might is not right. Prussia has conquered Hanover by sheer force, but that does not confer upon Prussia any moral claim to rule over her weaker neighbour; nor is the stronger king entitled, merely because his kingdom is stronger, to supersede the other king. He had sworn allegiance to the King of Hanover, and he would transfer that allegiance to no other until that

king had by his own conduct forfeited his kingly prerogatives. The greatest pressure was brought to bear upon him, but all to no purpose. He was immovable. *Might is not right.* Why should he take an oath against his conscience? Just see the consistency of the man. In 1837 the new King of Hanover refused to accept the Constitution of the country. Ewald and six other professors refused to take the oath to the new king unless the latter fell in with the laws of the country, and these men gave up position and livelihood rather than do what they thought was wrong. In 1856 he stood forth against the king and his servile ministry, regardless of the risk he incurred. In 1866 the king was constitutional monarch, and Prussia was thought to have no right to depose him. This time Ewald was alone among the professors in the stand he took, but that made no difference to him. He was threatened with expulsion, but that had no effect.

CHAPTER VIII

Deprived of his Right to Teach

The Prussian Government deprived him of his "Lehr-Recht,"[1] the right to teach in any Prussian university, but in acknowledgment of his eminent services to learning and literature his salary at the University was continued, though of course the fees went to his successor Lagarde, together with an equivalent salary.

From 1867 on to 1875, when he died, Ewald gave himself to literary work, and he produced a large number of new works and many improved editions of old ones. He wrote many political pamphlets; was elected in 1869 member of the Prussian Parliament by his Hanoverian friends, and he continued to represent the city of Hanover up to his death. His career in Parliament was not, however, a success. He spoke often enough—too often; but it was always about his beloved Hanover, and he was listened to more with amusement, or indeed ridicule, than with serious attention. He was to the last bitterly opposed to the annexation of Hanover, and he was not the man to be silent, even in a Prussian Parliament, concerning what he conceived to be right.

[1] *Licentia docendi.*

Throughout his life Ewald had such health, vigour, and capacity for work as have fallen to the lot of but few men. His power of endurance seemed unbounded. The late Dr. Samuel Davidson told me once that during the time he was Ewald's guest at Göttingen—it was some time in the 'sixties—Ewald rose each morning before five o'clock, and worked in his study or at the University almost every moment of the day when he was not at meals. He gave up much of one day to Dr. Davidson, showing him about the town, and he told his English visitor that it was the first time he had made such a sacrifice of time, though he was glad to make it for him.

CHAPTER IX

Sickness and Death (1875)

For some months before the release of death came, he suffered considerably from an enlargement of the chambers of the heart; but his quick and vigorous step, his untiring devotion to work, and his still erect and apparently vigorous frame, deceived all except his closest friends as to the real state of his health. On the first of May 1875, three days before his death, he sent in a treatise on "The Phœnician Inscriptions of Gaul," written by his own hand for the "Kön. Societät der Wissenschaften," which was that day in session. That very same day he corrected proof of a review that was to appear in the *Göttinger Anzeiger*.

He bore his sickness with great fortitude and patience, often thinking and speaking about the eternal future, to which he looked forward with confidence and joy. He died rather suddenly on the 4th day of May 1875, of that heart trouble which has been mentioned: and who can tell but that the fatal sickness of the physical heart was brought on by the intense mental suffering to which his very sensitive nature was exposed? A very large company of colleagues, pupils, and friends gathered to do him

honour as he was interred in the large and beautiful *Friedhof* in the Weenderstrasse, not far away from the University in which he studied and taught. Over his grave grateful pupils have reared a stone monument, near the top of which Dean Stanley had a metal plate fixed with Ewald's head engraved on it in relief.

EWALD'S GRAVE, WITH THE MEMORIAL STONE SUBSCRIBED FOR BY PUPILS, AND THE MEDALLION INSERTED BY DEAN STANLEY.

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CHAPTER X

Some Characteristics

HIS APPEARANCE

Ewald's was a tall, commanding figure, fully six feet high. His eyes were blue, his features rugged and striking. His prominent cheek-bones suggested strength. He held his head well back, and his gait was quick and firm. As he paced the road or street he was generally in deep thought, and often he passed his best friends without noticing them. Kielhorn, the Sanscritist, told me it was one of the sights of Göttingen to see the "grand old man," as he knew him, marching along the Friedländerweg for his daily stroll. In class, in the streets, and indeed everywhere, Ewald looked just the man he was, one that feared none save God alone.

HIS INDUSTRY

Ewald's life was too crammed with serious work to allow of his giving much time to social functions, though few men were more ready to give time and trouble if any good cause demanded it. He almost invariably refused invitations to evening parties, and

besides having his pupils to his house one evening in the Semester, according to the German custom, he had very few parties in his own house. His afternoon constitutional was never omitted; but, when not taking this walk or in the university, he was always to be found in his study from five in the morning to the time he retired at night. It was hard to persuade him to leave for a holiday, as he desired the time for literary work. But one summer his friends had been more successful than was their wont, for, owing to their pressure, he had consented to spend some time in the Thüringia Wald. He actually commenced the journey, but, after proceeding some distance, a vision of the unfinished tasks at home flashed upon him. At the very next stop he got out of the train, crossed the line, and returned to Göttingen by the earliest train. If a pupil called, even during the *Sprechstunde*[1] which every German professor sets free in every week for receiving his students, Ewald would often pass them on to Mrs. Ewald as soon as he found that the purpose of their visit was social and not scientific (*wissenschaftlich*). Very few men have been able to rise to real distinction in so many things as Ewald, and to attain to this required enormous energy and devotion to work, even in a man of his natural gifts. Let anyone consult the Bibliography at the end of this volume; then be it remembered that he actually taught, though not in the same Semester, the grammar and literature of Hebrew,

[1] Frequently a German professor announces two or even three hours a week during which students may call.

Aramaic, Arabic, Ethiopic, Persian, Sanscrit, Armenian, Turkish, and Coptic.[1] Few teachers have had so many pupils who became famous; and that their fame was achieved in so many different fields is a strong evidence of Ewald's versatility. Among these pupils let the following be named:—A. Schliecher (†1868), the philologist; M. Haug (†1876), Persian and Sanscrit scholar; R. Roth (†1875), the celebrated Sanscritist, author of an immense Sanscrit Lexicon; E. Trumpp (†1885), Arabist, Sanscritist, and Sikhist—for years in the service of the Church of England Missionary Society as translator; L. Krehl (†1900) and Theodore Nöldeke, the Semitic scholars; E. Bertheau (†1888); A. Dillmann (†1894); and Julius Wellhausen, great in Old Testament learning—the last two in the very first rank as men of genius as well as of erudition. It is not maintained that Ewald's authority was supreme in all the subjects he taught. In isolated languages and even in special departments of Old Testament study he was excelled in his lifetime by some of his own pupils and by others. As a Sanscritist he could not compete with Roth, nor as an Ethiopic scholar with Dillmann. He lived to see Nöldeke develop into an authority in Semitic philology, especially in Arabic and Syriac, such as he himself would never have claimed to be. Even in his favourite field of Old Testament study Dillmann wrote Commentaries which, on the philological and exegetical side, surpass in value Ewald's own work. Nor did Ewald produce anything on the Pentateuch

[1] Dillmann, *Im Neuen Reich*, 1875, p. 781.

or Hexateuch question more weighty or worthy of careful consideration than, in its way, was Dillmann's Essay at the end of his Commentary on *Numbers* and *Deuteronomy*. But it would be hard, if not impossible, to name one man whose accomplishments were so varied and all of them of so high a character.

EWALD AS TEACHER

For much of what I have to say of Ewald as teacher I am indebted to conversations with Professors Seeburg and Wellhausen of Göttingen, both of them favourite pupils of Ewald. Professor Seeburg was once a candidate for a sub-librarianship at the Bodleian, and he showed me a letter in which Ewald warmly commends him to the electors as being one of his ablest Semitic pupils. He subsequently became a Gymnasium teacher, giving most of his attention to modern languages. He now lives retired. Since my visit to Göttingen in the summer of 1901, Wellhausen has issued an interesting brochure on Ewald of twenty-five 8vo pages: it is really a reprint from a volume celebrating the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the "Königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen." I owe a good deal to this brochure, and also to private communications which the author has favoured me with. I have, however, gathered much from chats with Professors Kamphausen of Bonn, Sachau of Berlin, and others who knew Ewald personally. My genial teacher Sachau told me that, much as he valued the help got in Arabic from

Fleischer, he has, since student days, always regretted that instead of going to Leipzig he had not gone to Göttingen to be under Ewald, so as to have the benefit of his encyclopædic knowledge and of his wide interests. All Ewald's pupils agree as to the enormous power which their teacher had of awakening and sustaining their attention, and of creating an abiding interest in the subjects which he taught. Far more important than the knowledge he imparted, valuable as that was, was the magnetism of the man himself. Professor Nöldeke writes to me as follows:— "Ich habe es immer als grosses Glück angesehen, dass ich ein Schüler Ewalds bin. Ewald war, als Lehrer unmethodisch, dictatorisch, verlangte gleich vom Anfänger sehr viel; aber er regte gewaltig an, imponirte durch seine ganze Persönlichkeit: und, wer sich Mühe gab, lernte viel bei ihm. Freilich wenn man selbstständig geworden war, dann ward es kaum möglich, auf gutem Fuss mit ihm zu bleiben, denn er sah die kleinste Abweichung von seinen Ansichten als einen Abfall von der Wahrheit an, und zörnte darüber mächtig. So habe auch ich zuletzt in seinen Ungnade gestanden, aber das hat mich nicht abgehalten, sogleich nach seinem Tode mit Krehl und einigen anderen alten Schüler Ewalds für ein würdiges Grabmal des grossen Forchers zu sorgen."[1]

[1] "I have always looked upon it as very fortunate that I was a pupil of Ewald's. Ewald was, as a teacher, unmethodical, dictatorial: he demanded at the same time very much from the beginner; but he stirred (one) up very powerfully, and impressed (one) by his whole per-

Ewald had a high squeaky voice and a jerky delivery, but his appearance and manner were commanding and always won respect. He would often speak with great emphasis and then pause. Not infrequently he would stop in the middle of a sentence, and then finish it in a kind of screech that was not pleasant. He prepared the matter of his lectures carefully; he never, however, read or recited, but spoke as the words came to him, though quotations and important sentences he gave from the MS.

In commencing his exposition of an Old Testament book, he would name and describe the best published commentaries. Then he usually told his students that he would proceed to give them the right interpretation (*das Richtige*), without further noticing what other people thought—this quite characteristic of the man, and pardonable *in him*. It was his custom in class to give results rather than processes, and only his own views; and he rarely corrected the text. In his exegesis he was always prone to turn off the path to some personal or national matter which weighed upon his mind, and which, he thought, the passage under consideration bore upon. This was specially the case

sonality; and whoever took pains learned much in his classes. It is true, when a man became independent in his views, it was then hardly possible to remain on a good footing with him; for he regarded the slightest departure from his views as a falling away from the truth, and he became violently angry over it. At last I also stood in his disfavour, but that did not hold me back, immediately after his death, with Krehl and some other pupils of Ewald's, to see to there being a worthy monument over the grave of the great investigator."

EWALD'S HOUSE IN 25, UNTERE MASCHISTRASSE.

His study was on the top floor on the left; his large library was for the most part kept in the room on the right of the same floor. Ewald often met students and friends in the garden behind, around a table that is still where he left it. In this house he died.

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after the war of 1866. Prussia was compared to Assyria, Egypt, or Philistia: Hanover to the Remnant —the true Israel, oppressed by her unrighteous foes. If he is lecturing on one of the imprecatory Psalms, the denunciations are made to apply to the enemy of Hanover, and of all people situated and oppressed as was the Israel that uttered these Psalms. Is he lecturing on the combination of Ephraim and Damascus against Judah?[1] Ewald is as confident as was Isaiah, of Jerusalem, that God if trusted will avenge His people, and that in the end righteousness will prevail. He would find parallels to Pekah king of Israel and Rezin king of Damascus in the Haupraüber and his accomplice: but Yahwe ruleth in Zion. Ewald was just as opposed to the futile efforts made by the United (Evangelical) to supplant the Lutheran Church of Hanover, in order to extend its sway over the newly-won territory.

His published commentaries show that Ewald had marvellous power in getting at the heart and soul of the men and circumstances concerned. His historical imagination was strong, his power of sympathy great.

His most helpful classes, Professors Seeburg and Wellhausen said, were those conducted daily (except Sunday) from 2 to 4 p.m. in his own house. Miss Ewald, only child, still lives in the house her father met his classes in from 1857 to 1866 (25 Untere Masch Street).[2] In those afternoon classes Oriental texts were read, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, and San-

[1] Isaiah vii.

[2] See illustration.

scrit, and he appeared at his best. He made great demands of his students, and was unsparing in his denunciation of negligence or laziness. Sometimes he carried this too far. Dr. Seeburg told me he was once in class when Nöldeke, most brilliant and industrious of all the students, stumbled over a passage: Ewald shrieked in that penetrating voice of his, "Do you not understand this? It is very simple. You are not industrious." Everyone present knew the charge was utterly false except the man who made it. His method in this class was to call upon any student to read and expound the text prescribed. He would, as it were—and both Seeburg and Wellhausen used this figure when speaking to me—throw the man into the water, and woe betide the luckless wight if he could not swim. But all Ewald's pupils say that the most striking thing in Ewald's teaching was the man himself. Everyone that came in contact with him felt his greatness and goodness, and from his personality there came an impulse that remained through life. We have all our own human heroes, and it is well that it should be so, but there never were disciples nearer worshipping their master than those of Ewald.

His kindness to his pupils and his readiness to help the needy among them were as striking as was his severity in cases of apparent neglect. One of them—not Wellhausen—told me that, at the close of one of the early classes of his first Semester at Göttingen, Ewald requested him to remain after the other students. This was done. The first thing Ewald did, when he found himself and this student alone,

was to slip into the right hand of the latter the fees paid for joining Ewald's classes, saying at the same time, "Take that: I understand you are poor: you need the money more than I." The student urged him to receive it back, as lawfully due to the teacher. But Ewald was immovable: "You need it more than I do, and you must keep it." This is, I was informed, but a sample of what Ewald was in the habit of doing, and the kindness was all the more gracious that it was made a matter of absolute secrecy. One is reminded of the extraordinary sympathy which the great Church historian Neander manifested towards his pupils. After finding, by careful inquiries, what pupils were poor and deserving among the hundreds that thronged his classroom, Neander would invite them to an evening repast.[1] The fees were found by each pupil carefully folded up in the serviette that lay on the table before him. Nor was Ewald's kindness confined to the conferring of material favours. Besides being regular and punctual in his attendance at class and always well prepared, he welcomed every pupil who called to consult him about difficulties or about literary or other matters.[2] If the student called merely for a chat, Ewald would even receive him, and over a jug each of beer they would talk away. But such a caller was generally turned over to Mrs. Ewald (the second), who quite understood the matter, and found no difficulty in entertaining the visitor.

[1] Abend-essen.

[2] See Dillmann, *Im Neuen Reich*, 1875, p. 780.

CHAPTER XI

Controversies

Ewald was not Ewald unless he was engaged in some controversy. Besides his political and theological conflicts, he had personal disputes with some of the leading men of his time. Indeed, he was hardly ever free from such disputes. With a man of such insight, independence, fearlessness, and sensitiveness, it could not well be otherwise.

He was never a man of policy, and the truth, as he conceived it, was more to him than the dearest friend. He helped to found the Protestant Verein, in order to check the unhistorical school of Bible exegesis represented by Hengstenberg. But when the Verein abandoned its original basis and adopted rationalistic principles, he left it and opposed its leaders as zealously as he opposed Hengstenberg and his like. When reproached with his apparently unnecessary divergencies from the views of other men, he replied in words that remind one of Luther's magnificent "Ich kann nicht anders," etc. These are Ewald's words in a free rendering—the original being added at the foot of the page:[1]—"I cannot act otherwise

[1] "Ich kann nicht anders handeln, als ich handle; es wäre gegen mein Gewissen; mein höchster Wunsch ist, dass es mir gelingen möge,

L. B.on Silvestre de Sacy.

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than I do: it would be against my conscience if I did: my strongest wish is that I may succeed as long as I live in never offending against my conscience. Men may laugh at me, mock me, insult me, and imprison me: I will lead a pure life before God and posterity."

In an account of Ewald's life some of the personal controversies in which he took part must be described. It is impossible to notice more than the most important.

GEORGE WILLIAM FRIEDRICH FREYTAG AND SILVESTRE DE SACY

Professor Freytag of Bonn (†1861) has been already referred to as Arabic teacher to both Ewald and Pusey in 1826–27.[1] Prior to this date Ewald had written and published a treatise on *Arabic Metre*,[2] in which he handled Freytag's views on the same theme in a very cavalier manner. It is to what Ewald says in this treatise that Freytag refers in the *Vorrede* to his great work on Arabic poetry. This being so, it seems strange that in 1826–27 Freytag's bitter antagonist should (according to Liddon's *Life of Pusey*[3]) be *famulus* in his Arabic class in the winter Semester of the years named!

Ewald was nothing if not original, and he never

niemals, so lange ich noch lebe, mein Gewissen zu verletzen: Sie mögen mich verlachen, höhnen, schimpfen, und ein sperren, ich will rein vor Gott und die Nachwelt treten."

[1] See p. 7 ff. [2] See Bibliography, No. 2. [3] I. 104.

lacked the courage to publish what he thought, however much it deviated from current opinions. In his work on Sanscrit metre[1] (1827) he declares that the rules which he supplies are due to his own reading of the texts. The English scholar Colebrooke attempted, Ewald says, to base his principles of Sanscrit poetry upon what the ancient writers of India had taught concerning the subject. Ewald condemned the method followed by the great British Sanscritist[2] as leading nowhere. We know, he said, far too little of the prosody of the ancient Sanscrit grammarians to be able to make any good use of it. So this young German, of twenty-four years of age, sets to work upon the Sanscrit texts, and, from his own observations of the form of the poetry, formulates his own system of Sanscrit metre.

This is precisely the spirit in which he goes to work in his book on *Arabic Metre*. What others had taught before him is of little account in his estimation. He must read for himself the best specimens of Arabic poetry, and thence deduce the principles followed, consciously or unconsciously, by the poet. In this, his second book, though he was yet barely twenty-two years of age, he undertakes to show that the greatest Arabists of that day, de Sacy (†1838), his pupil Freytag, and others, were on the wrong track, and had therefore missed the true doctrine. They had followed blindly the native

[1] Bibliography, No. 5.

[2] See appreciation of Colebrooke by Max Müller, *Biographical Essays*, p. 226 ff.

grammarians, the schools of Kufa and Basra, instead of examining Arabic poetry for themselves, and drawing their own conclusions. Orientals and Orientalists were all equally wrong in their conceptions of Arabic metre, the latter because they simply followed the former. It was as an answer to Ewald's attack that Freytag issued his valuable treatise on *The Art of Arabic Verse*,[1] and if Ewald's criticisms had no other result than to cause this book to be written, he deserves well of Arabic students. It is probably due to what Ewald had written, that, in the second edition of his Arabic Grammar,[2] de Sacy incorporates a clear and succinct discussion of the prosody and metrical art of the Arabs.[3] At the end of this discussion de Sacy refers the reader to his pupil Freytag's treatise for fuller[4] information. The great French Arabist seems to have been little, if at all, hurt by what Ewald had written of him. Ewald had sent de Sacy a copy of his Essay on Arabic Prosody, accompanied by a letter, which the receiver describes as "humanissima tua epistola." He says that Ewald is deserving of high praise for having pointed out "'innumeros errores' in what he and others had previously written."[5] On the other hand, Ewald is ungrudging in his praise of de Sacy's Arabic Grammar. In the

[1] *Darstellung der Arabischen Verskunst.* Bonn, 1830.

[2] Paris, 1831. 2 vols.

[3] It was also published apart. Baron Bunsen and Freytag were at the same time studying Arabic at Paris under de Sacy. See *Memoirs of Baron Bunsen*, i. p. 97.

[4] Wellhausen, *Heinrich Ewald*, p. 84.

[5] *Ibid.* See also Appendix I. p. 108 ff.

preface to vol. i. of his own Arabic Grammar[1] Ewald speaks of de Sacy as a man whose vast learning and singularly pure character fill him with admiration. He adds that de Sacy's Arabic Grammar far surpassed all that preceded it, and that it was a remarkable production for its time. It is of the first edition of de Sacy's Grammar[2] that Ewald uses these words. Before Ewald issued vol. ii. of his Arabic Grammar,[3] de Sacy had published a second edition of his Arabic Grammar,[4] and in the preface to vol. ii. of his Grammar Ewald is unstinted in his praise of it, as being fuller and altogether better than the first edition.[5] But its method is wrong: he relies too much, like his predecessors, upon the native grammarians. The language must be looked at in itself, as pictured in its literature: both grammar and prosody are to grow out of such an examination of the language, and to depend upon it. The Arabic Grammar that is most in vogue on the Continent, in America, and in Great Britain,[6] that of Caspari, in one or other of its recensions, combines the methods followed by de Sacy and Ewald, as Fleischer points out.[7] This great Leipzig Arabist acknowledges the validity of Ewald's method, though without denying the value also of the method criticised by Ewald.

Freytag, however, felt Ewald's criticisms to the quick. In the *Vorrede* to his *Verskunst* he says it

[1] P. v. [2] Published in 1810. [3] 1833. [4] 1831. [5] P. iii.
[6] Dr. Wright's edition, as revised by W. Robertson Smith and de Goeze, is undoubtedly the best form in which *Caspari* has appeared.
[7] *Kleinere Schriften*, i. p. 1 f.

REV. PROFESSOR S. LEE, D.D.

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is hard, when a man labours to understand a subject, and endeavours to make it clear to others, that another writer, instead of expressing thanks, threatens to destroy the work he has done. In 1832 Ewald returns to the attack,[1] reaffirming and vindicating his former criticisms of Freytag's Lexicon and his *Verskunst*. Ewald was never merely destructive. In the treatise on *Arabic Metre*, reproduced with slight changes in his Arabic Grammar,[2] he holds that on its external side the ultimate factor in poetry is rhythm. The most primitive foot is the Iamb (˘ ¯, as in bĕfōre); the oldest species of poetry is the lyric, and not, as Hegel said, the epic. Ewald's treatise on Hebrew poetry, prefixed to his *Exposition of the Psalms*, is one of the most interesting and valuable in existence.

DR. SAMUEL LEE

Of all the personal encounters in which Ewald had part, none was conducted with more acrimony and ill-will than that between him and the Rev. Samuel Lee, D.D. (†1852), Professor of Arabic, and afterwards Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge. This Samuel Lee was the son of a Salop labourer, and worked himself as a journeyman carpenter until he was nearer thirty than twenty. Then he became a schoolmaster, and in 1813, at the age of thirty, he gained admission into the University, of which he became subsequently

[1] *Abhandlungen*, etc. (Bibliography, No. 10), pp. 12–52.

[2] Bibliography, No. 9.

professor. He was author of a Hebrew Lexicon and of a Hebrew Grammar, which had a considerable vogue in this country half a century back.[1] In 1827 Ewald and Lee issued the first editions of their Hebrew Grammars, and each claimed to have introduced important improvements in the treatment of the subject. Lee said that Hebrew has two tenses —what he called *Present* (= Imperfect) and *Preterite* (= Perfect). Of course, English has, without the aid of auxiliaries, also but two tenses—I *love*, I *loved*—*Present* and *Preterite*. Not at all unlikely the English practice suggested to Lee the names he gave to the Hebrew tenses. Ewald, on the other hand, maintained[2] that the conception of time, as such, does not enter into the Hebrew verb, any more than it does into the participle: it is *modes* or *kinds* of action that the so-called tense forms express. That called previously Preterite (our Perfect) is the *Indicative* mode or mood; the so-called *Future* (our Imperfect) is the *Conjunctive* mode or mood. Both appeared to agree that the so-called *Waw* (or Vav) *Conversive* is really nothing of the kind. Ewald gave it the name by which it is now known—Waw-consecutive. Without using the name that came from Ewald, Lee nevertheless gave a very similar account of the thing itself, as Schröder had done long before.[3] Both Ewald and Lee were at one in rejecting the Jewish doctrine of the three tenses—the participle under the designation *benoni* (the tense

[1] See *A Brief Memoir of S. Lee.* London, 1896.

[2] See p. 523 of the *Grammatik* (1827).

[3] See p. 83.

between [ben] Preterite and Future) constituting, according to the Jews, a present tense, which of course in Aramaic and late Hebrew it is. Ewald and Lee agreed further in putting aside the Jewish teaching about Waw (Vav) Conversive. In 1828 a second edition of Ewald's Grammar came out, and in 1835 a third.[1] In these editions the author abandoned the description and designation of the so-called Hebrew tenses as modes, and instead spoke of them under the names Perfect and Imperfect, so familiar now to all Hebrew students. In the edition of 1827 Ewald has nothing to say about the Hebrew accents, apparently, Lee insinuates, because the author knew nothing about the subject. By the time he was preparing the third edition (1838) he had learned a good deal from Lee's Grammar, so that he is able to make a contribution on his own account in the edition of 1855. Lee is good enough to acknowledge that he is indebted for most of what he writes on the accents in his Grammar to older authorities; but he honestly gives his authorities, and he claims to have been the first to adapt the accents to Hebrew syntax.[2] Ewald, according to his opponent, makes undue use of what the latter had put forth in his Grammar of 1827, but he has not the honesty to acknowledge it. To a still greater extent was the

[1] I regret I cannot consult the edition of 1828, but that of 1838 lies before me as I write, as well as Dr. Nicholson's translation of it.

[2] *A Gram. of the Heb. Lang.* By S. Lee, D.D. (1841), p. xv f. Also *An Examination of the Gram. Principles of Prof. von Ewald*, 1847 (pp. 1–126), p. 107 ff.

German Hebraist held to be indebted to Lee's doctrine of the Hebrew tenses. Why, asks Lee, does Ewald, in the first edition of his Grammar, call the "tenses" *modes* or moods, and then go on in later editions to adopt his distinction of *Past* and *Present*, only disguising the plagiarism by calling them *Perfect* and *Imperfect*? The answer given is that Ewald had been "ploughing with his heifer."[1] It does not seem to have occurred to Lee that between Ewald's conception of the Hebrew "tenses" as *modes* not strictly *tenses* at all, and his doctrine of the Perfect and Imperfect, there was really no contradiction, but only a development of view; that, moreover, down to the very last there was a fundamental difference, if not contradiction, between what Ewald and Lee wrote on the matter. According to Lee, *Past* and *Present* are the ideas conveyed by the so-called tense forms in Hebrew. Ewald denied that time, as such, is implied in any form of the Hebrew verb.

Ewald was not the man to be silent under such accusations as these. He replies with his wonted vehemence in *The Churchman's Review*[2] for May 1847, in an earlier number of which[3] Lee had repeated his charges; and also in the *Jahrbücher* for 1849, p. 34 ff., Ewald denies having seen or heard of Lee's

[1] Lee's *Heb. Gram.* p. xi, and *An Examination*, etc.

[2] A German version of this reply, with additional notes, appeared in the *Jahrbücher*, iii. 96 ff.

[3] March 1847. Published separately as an 8vo pamphlet of 22 pages, under the title: *Letter to the Editor of Messrs. Baxter's Edition of the Heb. Lex. of Dr. Gesenius.* Tregelles (the editor referred to), Ewald, and Gesenius are all roughly handled in this letter.

Grammar until he had published the works in which he was charged with having purloined from that Grammar. Since Lee continued to make his charges, Ewald sent to the *Journal of Sacred Literature* for April[1] 1849 a final answer put into English by Dr. Nicholson. A more crushing rejoinder has hardly ever been made. It is a series of propositions of which the first is this: "That, as a teacher of Hebrew, Dr. Lee understands nothing of that language, since every pupil in a German Gymnasium, who intends to visit the University as a theological student, knows infinitely more of it than he does." Ewald finds, he says, no other kind of reply likely to suit an antagonist like Dr. Lee. The controversy was begun by Lee in the preface to his Grammar of 1841. In the *Jahrbücher* for 1849[2] Ewald writes of Lee's *Job* in the following words: "In his thick Commentary on the Book of Job, Lee showed that he understands as good as nothing of Hebrew grammar."[3] Lee's words concerning Ewald's notice of his *Job* cannot well be reconciled with what Ewald here states. Thus in 1847 Lee wrote:[4] "That I am exceedingly unpopular with the Neologian school there" (in Germany), "I am very well aware, and I rejoice at it; as I am of the very good-natured and scholar-like remarks which Mr. Ewald supplied some years ago to the *Göttingen Anzeigen* on my *Job*." It does seem that Ewald or Lee makes some mistake here.[5]

[1] P. 375 f.
[2] P. 36.
[3] *Jahrbücher*, 1849, p. 36.
[4] *An Examination*, etc., p. 3.
[5] Perhaps, however, Lee writes sarcastically, not seriously.

A few extracts will show how bitterly Lee wrote of his German opponent: they are taken from the pamphlet, *An Examination*, etc.: — "Von Ewald declares, indeed, in a manner superlatively contemptuous, that he has seen none of my works. Contemptible, however, as they may be, he has, by some means or other, got at, and adopted, the contents of some of them."[1] After a notice of the English edition of Ewald's Grammar which appeared in 1837, Lee writes: "So much for the new light lately imported from Tübingen and made available to the English nation by John Nicholson."[2] "Ewald," says Lee,[3] "possesses less learning than I had imagined." In the letter to Dr. Tregelles, already referred to, Lee defends the view that the *Niph'al* and *Hithpa'el* are primarily passive and only secondarily reflexive. He then writes:[4] "If either Gesenius or Mr. Ewald had consulted the native Arabic Grammars they would have seen what these passives really are, and how a reflexive sense has grown out of them . . ." "The Baron de Sacy laboured under a similar want of knowledge."[5]

Of Tregelles's edition of *Gesenius's Lexicon* he says it is "worse than valueless." It may be added that Dr. Lee had a heated controversy with Dr. J. Pye Smith on the rightness or wrongness of "Protestant Dissent."[6]

[1] P. 3. [2] P. 11. [3] P. 125. [4] P. 12.

[5] de Sacy replied to Lee in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1830, pp. 96 and 334 f.: "Observations sur la Critique faite par M. Sam. Lee."

[6] See *Dissent Unscriptural and Unjustifiable*, by S. Lee, D.D.; *Protestant Dissent Vindicated*, by J. P. Smith, D.D. Each wrote several replies.

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FRIEDRICH HEINRICH WILHELM GESENIUS

In 1842 Ewald issued a Hebrew Grammar for beginners,[1] a later edition of which was translated into English and published in 1870.[1] In the preface Ewald made a vigorous onslaught upon Gesenius (1786–1842) and his grammatical principles. The Lexicon and Grammar of Gesenius were in great vogue, as they are still in editions so altered as to be new productions. Gesenius had but a few weeks to live when this attack appeared, but he saw it, and his last days are said to have been clouded and saddened by it. He felt the attack all the more keenly because he had no strength to reply, nor any hope of obtaining such strength. Gesenius and Ewald took very different ways in their treatment of Hebrew grammar. The first might be called the Bacon of Hebrew, the man to observe, register, and classify facts. The other might be likened to Hegel, in that he looked at the relations of the facts and the philosophy of them. Each was transcendently great in his own sphere. And Ewald's Grammars of 1827 and onwards would have been impossible but for the Grammar which Gesenius brought out first of all in 1813. It was easy for two men so great to be jealous of each other. It is said that Gesenius lost no opportunity of prejudicing his pupils against Ewald ; and yet he often sent them on to Ewald for further aid in their studies.[2]

[1] See Bibliography, No. 16.

[2] See further in Appendix I. p. 123.

HERMANN HUPFELD

One of Ewald's earliest antagonists, and one of the most determined, was Hermann Hupfeld (1796–1866), the pupil, colleague, and finally successor of Gesenius at Halle. Soon after the appearance of the first edition of Ewald's Hebrew Grammar, Hupfeld wrote a long, learned, and subtle critique to *Hermes*.[1] In this critique more notice was taken of the *defects* than of the *merits* of the Grammar, though the latter were by no means lost sight of. When Ewald's Grammar first appeared (1827), Hupfeld was at a Hebrew Grammar of his own, and his colleague Tholuck—himself no mean Semitic scholar—said that Hupfeld's Hebrew Grammar would be sure to surpass that of Ewald in the fundamental character of its researches.[2] Unfortunately, Hupfeld never completed his Grammar, or at least only a part of it was published—128 pages of a work which, completed on the same scale, would have reached about 1000 pages. (Dates, 1828 and 1841.) In a private letter to Jacob Grimm, dated 4th March 1830, Hupfeld says[3] that Ewald is a coxcomb, who has lost his head by premature success. Grimm sends back to Hupfeld, then at Marburg, a speedy reply, in which he tells his correspondent that he has wholly misread the character of Ewald. The two men remained irreconcil-

[1] 1828, pp. 1–30.

[2] Quoted by Rev. F. W. Bosworth, M.A., in *Journal of Sacred Literature*, January 1853, p. 430.

[3] Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 67.

Yours sincerely
H. Hupfeld.

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able foes until Hupfeld's death, in 1866. The late Dr. Samuel Davidson told me that when in the early 'sixties he visited Ewald at Göttingen, and passed on to Halle, to be the guest of Hupfeld, the latter awaited his arrival at the station, and upon meeting him said, "And so you have come from Ewald to Hupfeld! How wonderful!"[1] In his *Jahrbücher*[2] Ewald describes Hupfeld as "der die kunst verwirrender schlechtmachender unchristlicher rede gut verstehenden Hupfeld." Though far less industrious than either Ewald or Gesenius, he was hardly inferior to either in genius. His Commentary on the *Psalms* is, in its own way, superior to anything of the kind attempted by either of these men, and, from the grammatical point of view, stands still unrivalled. It is very different, of course, from the better known volumes of Delitzsch, whose commenting Hupfeld had little liking for.[3] And Hupfeld sets all Psalm expounders a worthy example by acknowledging ignorance with regard to the date and authorship of the Psalms when he has no reliable *data* to argue from. Concerning this very work of Hupfeld's Ewald writes:[4] "And what shall we say concerning Hupfeld's

[1] After copying the above from my notebook, I found the incident related in the *Autobiography of Dr. Samuel Davidson*, p. 84. Dr. Davidson related it to me in his house, 14 Belsize Crescent, Hampstead.

[2] 1848, p. 34.

[3] See Hupfeld, *Die Psalmen*[2] (1867), i. p. 64; and cf. Hupfeld's letter to Delitzsch in mitigation, in Delitzsch, *Die Psalmen*, preface to second edition (1867), reproduced in the English trans., i. p. vi. (T. & T. Clark).

[4] *Die Dichter*, i. 2nd part, vii. 1.

four-volumed work, which, behind the most groundless assumption, hides such wretched ignorance, linguistic and historical," with much more in the same strain. Hupfeld wrote of Ewald's *Psalmen* in a kindred temper, though with a readier acknowledgment of good points. One has to read the original edition (1855) to see what Hupfeld wrote: in the second (Riehm's) and third (Nowack's) editions the strongest statements are left out. In Riehm's edition we have these words:[1] "Ewald's work is nothing more than a translation with long introductions and short notes. The iambic translation is a model of harshness and of lack of taste. Nevertheless, the introductions contain often good psychological developments of the poet's course of thought." Ewald has no more patience than Hupfeld with what he calls the pious but unscientific (in the German sense) expositions of Delitzsch, whom he styles a semi-imitator, if not an entire imitator, of Hengstenberg! This is very strong language to use of one whose Commentaries on the Old Testament have been so helpful alike to scholars and to ordinary students of the Old Testament. Our Canon Driver, a competent critic, and a much saner and more impartial one, has judged Franz Delitzsch's expositions very differently from Hupfeld or Ewald, though it should be remembered that Delitzsch produced some of his best work after his two critics wrote. In his Introductory Notice to the last English edition of Delitzsch's *Isaiah*, Canon Driver says:[2] "Thoroughness is the mark of all his works. His

[1] I. 62. [2] I. xiii.

Commentaries, from their exegetical completeness, take rank with the best that Germany has produced." In the preface to his Arabic Grammar, vol. i., Ewald writes of Hupfeld in a very different strain from that in the preface to his *Psalms*. Here are his words in the original Latin: "Volumeni huic adjecta est tabula Scripturæ arabicæ explicandæ utilissima, ab *amicissimo* H. Hupfeld, Marburgensi, viro Scripturæ æquæ ac linguæ Semiticæ gnarissimo, conconnata." (The italics are mine.)

CHAPTER XII

Friendships

If Ewald had foes in abundance, it must not be thought that he had no friends. Wellhausen closes his graphic picture of his illustrious teacher in words characteristically epigrammatic:[1] "With the world at strife and in peace with God he died on the 4th day of May 1875."

But his admirers and friends very far outnumbered his detractors and foes. They saw his faults, his vanity, his dogmatism, his irritability; but behind all this they saw a man of transcendent strength, sincerity, and earnestness, a man to whom moral principle was supreme. It speaks volumes that his most attached friends were those that came closest to him, and therefore knew him best. No teacher ever drew to himself more completely the admiration and affection of his disciples. And what teacher has ever had pupils who, in later years, distinguished themselves more, or in more departments? Besides the famous pupils mentioned on a previous page,[2] think of Hitzig, Osiander, Stern, Gildemeister,

[1] "Mit der Welt in streit und mit Gott in Frieden starb er am 4 Mai 1875," p. 80.

[2] See p. 35.

Y PARCHEDIG.

JOHN HARRIS JONES, M.A., PH.D.

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E. Schrader, and others that could be named. From Dillmann, Nöldeke, and Wellhausen, I have myself heard words showing the most enthusiastic admiration of their great teacher. Indeed, all Ewald's pupils felt and expressed the profoundest respect for his character and genius. Wellhausen dedicates the first edition of his great work, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs* to "my never-to-be-forgotten teacher, Heinrich Ewald." In his recently issued pamphlet, already much referred to in this volume, Wellhausen makes use of the strongest words in eulogising Ewald the *man*, the *teacher*, and the *writer*.

The late Professor J. HARRIS JONES, M.A. (Glasgow Gold Medallist in Greek), Ph.D. Halle, of the Trefeca Calvinistic Methodist College, South Wales, studied Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic under Ewald at Göttingen. His earliest student days were spent at the Carmarthen Presbyterian[1] College, and he proceeded thence as Dr. Williams scholar to Glasgow, where he had a brilliant career. From Glasgow he went to Göttingen in 1855, where he remained a year, passing then to Halle to study Semitic under Rödiger, successor of Gesenius, and theology under that most interesting and impressive teacher, preacher, and personality, Tholuck. While at Halle he had for fellow-student Principal D. W. Simon, Ph.D., D.D.,

[1] Carmarthen College is "Presbyterian" in the Old English, not Scotch, sense of that word; the governing board is Unitarian, though there is a Congregational Committee to see to the Congregational students. There are at the present time eight Baptist students at the College. The late Dr. Vance Smith was president for many years.

of Bradford, the well-known theologian. The two Welshmen chummed closely for a time, but at length they fell out over a girl whom they both loved, and whom one wooed, won, and wed. For his Ph.D. degree at Halle Dr. Jones presented a translation into English, with notes, of Ibn Abd el-Hakim's *History of the Conquest of Spain.* A review of this work appeared in the Welsh paper called *yr Amserau*, for January 12, 1859, by the Rev. T. Charles Edwards, M.A., well known in after-years as one of the greatest preachers, educationists, and theologians of his time. This review is reproduced in the excellent *Life of Dr. Jones* written by the Rev. J. Cynddylan Jones, D.D., of Cardiff, and the late Rev. Edward Matthews, Ewenny.[1] A German fellow-student at Göttingen of Dr. Jones's, since then a professor, has given me, in the course of conversation, some particulars about Dr. Jones's year at Göttingen, one or two items of which I may be allowed to reproduce. He lived at No. 25 Weender Strasse, in the house of Wilhelm Ludwig, who kept a book-shop and a splendid lending library. This was a good place for meeting students and for getting access to the best literature; but Jones avoided company all he could, and quietly worked away at the subjects he came to Göttingen to get help in. Yet this modest and retiring Welshman had a marvellous knack of getting out of every student in the University what information he needed and could obtain. His calls upon students were

[1] *Cofiant y Parchedig.* J. Harris Jones, M.A., Ph.D. Llanelly, 1886. See p. 173 ff.

short and business-like. When he got students to visit him, he was generally short and sharp in what he said and allowed to be said. The house he lived in is still used as a book-shop, kept by Otto Carius ; it is almost exactly opposite the Jacobi Kirche, about half-way between the University and the town end of the street. Dr. Jones was one of the greatest Semitic scholars that Wales has produced, and, if he had not become a great preacher, he might have perpetuated his name and fame by literary work of permanent value. During my student days at the Pontypool (now Cardiff) Baptist College I heard him preach two sermons—one of them from the text, "I am the bread of life,"[1] among the two or three most remarkable sermons I have ever heard.

During his Göttingen period Dr. Jones was in ecstasies in his admiration of Ewald as man, scholar, and teacher. He communicated his impressions of his principal Göttingen teacher in one of a series of articles on "Eminent Germans," contributed by him in 1874 to the *Goleuad* of those days. This article has been reproduced in the *Life of Dr. Jones* already referred to. I give here a few sentences in a free English translation, adding the Welsh original at the foot of the page.

"It cannot be doubted that, of the eminent men on the Continent, no one has distinguished himself in so many branches of learning as George August Heinrich von Ewald. In many departments of knowledge his authority is considered extremely high, and

[1] John vi. 35.

even decisive. The breadth of his knowledge is as remarkable as the originality of his conceptions. . . . I am more indebted to him for guidance in study, and for encouragement and impulse in going forward in face of difficulties, than to any other man. He was able to infuse his own enthusiasm for knowledge into the minds (bosoms) of his pupils."[1]

The writer may be pardoned for giving so many details of the life of Dr. Harris Jones in a *Life of Ewald*, but he was a fellow-countryman whom the writer knew slightly and admired much; besides, little is known of him outside a limited circle in the Principality.

With the late Dr. SAMUEL DAVIDSON, formerly of the Lancashire Independent College, Ewald was on terms of special intimacy, and during his visit to England in 1862, the Exhibition year, Professor Ewald, together with his wife and daughter, stayed for six weeks with the Davidsons at 14 Belsize Crescent, Hampstead. The remembrances of that visit were pleasant on both sides. I have heard Dr. Davidson in that same house refer with pride and

[1] "Y mae yn ddiamheuol nad oes yr un o enwogion presenol y Cyfandir wedi hynodi ei hunan mewn cynifer o ganghenau o ddysgeidiaeth a George August Heinrich von Ewald. Mewn lliaws o randiroedd (departments) gwybodaeth, ystyrir ei farn o'r awdurod uchaf, ac yn ddigon i osod terfyn ar bob ymryson. Y mae cyffredinolrwydd ei wybodaeth yn ymddangos i ni mor rhyfedd a gwreiddiolder ei syniadau. . . . Ydym yn bersonol o dan fwy o rwymedigaethau iddo nag i neb arall am gyfarwyddiadau yn ein hefrydiaeth, ac am symbyliad i fyned yn mlaen pa anhawsderau bynag fyddai yn dygwydd bod ar y fordd. Yr oedd yn medru taflu ei frwdfrydedd ei hun dros ddygeidiaeth i mewn i fynwesau ei fyfyrwyr." P. 151 f.

I am with much regard
yours sincerely Samuel Davidson

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pleasure to that visit of the Ewalds. When, in the summer of 1901, I called upon Miss Ewald in the very house[1] where her father taught and died, she recalled with enthusiastic interest that visit to London, and spoke much of the joy of those London days. Miss Davidson, her father's companion and good angel in his last years, and Miss Ewald are, I believe, the sole survivors now of the two families.

It has been already stated that, during the 1862 visit to England, Ewald paid a visit to that great Welshman, Dr. Rowland Williams, at the Broad Chalk Vicarage, not far away from Salisbury. Williams was at the time in the throes of those persecutions and prosecutions which arose out of his contribution to *Essays and Reviews*.[2] He had Ewald's heartiest sympathy in the experience through which he was passing; but the great German had his fears lest his Welsh friend should lay too little stress upon the divine element in the Bible. In his journal, dated September 9, 1862, Williams writes:[3] "Ewald recently visited us from Oxford. . . . He thinks Hebrew literature better and better, the more he studies it; makes it purely historical; yet still says he cannot believe impossibilities. This means, he resolves all miracles either into symbol, poetry, or outward embodiment of spiritual thought." But

[1] 25 Untere Masch Strasse. See Illustration facing p. 39.

[2] See *Life and Letters of Rowland Williams, D.D.*, 1874, ii. 74 and 317. Cf. Appendix I. p. 99 ff.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 74.

Ewald never, that I know, denied the actual occurrence of objective miracles in Bible times. "The province of religion," he writes,[1] "is, indeed, in itself also that of miracle, inasmuch as it is that of the pure and strong faith in the presence and operation of heavenly powers, in doing as well as in suffering." Compare also his remarks on the miracles of Christ.[2]

Nor did Ewald reject the idea that fiction exists in the Old Testament as well as fact, though to him the fiction is, in its way, as true as the prose fact. Let anyone read the *History of Israel* who wishes to see proofs of this; or his Old Testament Commentaries. In the *Introduction to Job*[3] Ewald endeavours to separate those parts of the book which belong to tradition—the legendary portions—from the parts which belong to the author or poet.

In a latter part of his journal,[4] Dr. Williams writes: "Ewald I like very much personally. . . . A sort of fervid simplicity and nobleness in his character are almost as remarkable as his vast learning."

DEAN STANLEY'S admiration for Ewald is well known, and he has expressed it in no uncertain way.[5] The first time that Stanley met him was in the summer of 1844, at Dresden. Ewald was attending

[1] *Gesch.*[3] iii. 549 (Eng. ed. iv. 83).

[2] *Ibid.* v. 290 ff. (Eng. ed. vi. 226 ff.).

[3] *Dichter*, iii.

[4] *Life*, ii. 298.

[5] *Jewish Church*, iii. Preface; *Life and Correspondence of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley*, by R. E. Prothero and G. G. Bradley, 1893, i. 329 f.

DEAN STANLEY.

Photo by the London Stereoscopic and Photographic Co., Ltd.

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a philological conference at the Saxon capital. Stanley and a fellow-student at Oxford were spending the long vacation in "doing" parts of Germany, and happened to be at Dresden during the conference named. They were lucky enough to see Alexander von Humboldt, Ranke, Neander, Ewald, and other notables, but no one made so deep an impression upon them, by his appearance and gait, as Ewald. They ventured to call upon him in the hotel, or rather inn as Stanley calls it. After conversing for some time with these young men, he grasped the small Greek Testament which he held in his hand as they entered, and said: "In this little book is contained all the wisdom of the world." In the preface to vol. iii. of his *Jewish Church*, written just a year after Ewald's death, Dean Stanley says: "By his removal, the Church, not only of Germany, but of Europe, has lost one of its chiefest theologians; and his countrymen will not refuse to a humble fellow-worker in the same paths [1] the privilege of paying this parting testimony of respect to one to whom Christendom owes so great a debt." When the pupils of Ewald determined to raise above the master's grave a memorial stone, Dean Stanley asked to be allowed to have inserted in it, at his own expense, a bronze medallion of Ewald. The request was readily acceded to, and to-day it occupies a conspicuous place near the top of the stone. Visitors to Wellhausen's house, in the Wilhelm Weberstrasse, Göttingen, will remember that a cast of this medallion

[1] Referring to the *History of Israel*.

occupies a prominent place in his study, and that he is particularly fond of directing the attention of British friends to this cast, and of reminding them of the love wherewith Dean Stanley loved Ewald, and of the medallion which he gave in order to show that love. Professor Wellhausen, whose extreme kindness to me it is a pleasure to acknowledge, told me that Dean Stanley was the only man he knew of who preached a memorial sermon for Ewald after his passing away.

Dr. THOMAS ARNOLD, whose biography Stanley wrote, was another of Ewald's British friends.[1] In the preface to vol. ii. of Ewald's *History*[2] there can be seen one of the finest appreciations of Arnold and of his spirit and work that ever appeared. Ewald speaks of Dr. Arnold as "der herzliche Gegner der Puseyiten, dessen Geist, nochmehr als

[1] Since writing the above I have endeavoured to ascertain whether there is any proof that Ewald and Dr. Arnold met, or whether they corresponded. I have found none. Ewald's name does not occur in Stanley's *Life of Arnold*. In reply to a request for information, Miss Arnold, youngest surviving daughter of Dr. Arnold, thus writes to me from Fox How, under date January 19, 1903: "I am sorry that I am quite unable to tell you anything with regard to any intercourse Ewald and my father may have had. There are no letters existing from him to my father, as far as I know; and, indeed, my father did not preserve letters, except those of Baron Bunsen. I never heard of Ewald's having been at Rugby, and cannot find any mention of his having been so. I was aware of his having spoken very warmly of my father in one of his books, but I have no reason to think that there was any personal friendship between the two. My father died in 1842. I was then very young, but I think I should have heard from my mother if they had known one another."

[2] In the first edition (1845) only, p. xv.

in seiner Röm. Gesch. in seinen Briefen u. theol. Werken so wie in den Herzen seiner Schüler und Freunde auf Erden unsterblich fortleben wird: ein Mann nach dessen Erscheinem (um das Höchste hier zu sagen) sogar an einer einstigen wahren Besserung der Eng. Staatskirche nochnicht verzweift werden darf."[1]

Baron Bunsen, the friend and admirer of Arnold, was also a friend and admirer of Ewald, though little to show that appears in the *Memoirs.* But from Kamphausen, who was Bunsen's helper and secretary in preparing the *Bibel-Werk*, I have heard a good deal of the cordial relations that subsisted between the two great men. In a letter to me, dated December 9, 1902, he writes: "Bunsen hielt gleich mir Ewald schr hoch, ohne seine Schwächen zu verkennen."[2] Bunsen, however, did not go so far as Ewald in the direction of Pentateuch (Hexateuch) criticism,[3] though he was regarded as a very advanced man by the Churches of his time. See the incident related of Ewald's visit to Heidelberg in EWALDIANA, p. 91 f. Max Müller was Ewald's host during at least most of the time he was at Oxford in the

[1] "The enthusiastic opponent of the Puseyites, whose spirit will live for ever on the earth in his letters, in his theological works as well as in the hearts of his pupils and friends, even more than in his *Roman History*—a man, after whose appearance (to say the utmost) no one need despair any longer of a true reform in the English State Church at some time or other."

[2] "Bunsen held Ewald in very high esteem, as I did, without denying his weaknesses."

[3] See *Memoirs*, ii. 46 f.

summer of 1862, and, judging from *My Autobiography: A Fragment*,[1] the intimacy between them was close. At Max Müller's hospitable table he met some of the leading scholars of the Oxford of that time. A curious and characteristic incident is narrated in the *Autobiography*.[2] One evening at dinner a goodly number of guests was present, and the conversation turned to some New Testament themes. Ewald answered questions about Christ, the kingdom, the future life, etc., so dogmatically, that he was asked how he came to know Paul's secret thoughts so certainly. He seemed in a fix, but at length replied in emphatic tones, and in good English, "I know them by the Holy Ghost." The conversation stopped at this point, and Ewald was allowed to finish his dinner in peace.

[1] P. 287 f. [2] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER XIII

Ewald's Writings

Ewald laboured in many fields and produced works dealing with many subjects. See the Bibliography. But it may be said that his greatest and most enduring achievements were in these three departments: *Old Testament Exegesis*, *Hebrew Grammar*, and his *History of Israel.*

OLD TESTAMENT EXEGESIS

When dealing with his Commentaries on the Old Testament, it is not implied that his expositions on the New Testament have no value; but they were produced under special circumstances and to meet a special emergency. The writer had not the lifelong preparation for these products of his pen that he had for the interpreting of the Old Testament, nor was his temperament quite so suited for entering into the spirit of the New Testament as into the spirit of the Old.

Referring to vol. v. of Ewald's *History* (*The History of Christ*), Baur himself says:[1] "Ewald's *History of*

[1] *Die Tübingen Schule*, von Dr. F. C. Baur, 12mo, 1–171. Tübingen, 1860.

Christ cannot be left unnoticed, as it is the latest attempt made, in a genuine harmonising way, so to construe the totality of the Gospel history of the four Gospels that an historical basis is ascribed to the Fourth Gospel." Baur devotes fifty pages to the position taken up by Ewald, which shows that in purely New Testament matters he thought Ewald worth answering, and it must be owned that he replies in good temper. Ewald defended vigorously the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel, holding it to have been written later than the Synoptics, supplying omissions in the latter and making corrections. In much of his teaching concerning the New Testament writings Ewald was a good deal influenced by Schleiermacher and his school. The exalted place given by him to the Fourth Gospel is largely due to what he had learned from the great Berlin preacher and theologian. He upholds his view concerning the authorship of John in his *History* (vol. v.; in Eng. vol. vi.) and in his work on the Johannine writings.[1] In the *History* he gives also his views of the Synoptic problem. Ewald was equally opposed to the mythical theory of Strauss and the tendency theory of Baur; his *History of Christ* is his answer to both these theories, though it contains much that is positive and original. He rejected as spurious *Ephesians* (Schleiermacher only doubted) and the three *Pastoral Epistles* (Schleiermacher rejected *1 Timothy* only). *Colossians* was written by Timothy, *Hebrews* by a Christian of Alexandria, *Revelation* by John Mark.

[1] Bibliography, No. 31.

Ewald held firmly to the unique divinity of Christ, and, unlike Schleiermacher,[1] he looked upon Jesus as realising in a very special manner the prophecies and types of the Old Testament. He believed in the sinless life, in the all-availing death, in the literal resurrection, and in the eternal glory of Him who was born at Bethlehem.[2] The name of this great theologian and scholar has been so exclusively associated with the Old Testament that it has been deemed advisable to give some of the conclusions to which he came on New Testament subjects.

His Commentaries on the poetical books of the Old Testament are deserving of very high praise. Of these the parts on *Psalms* and *Job* are best. His introductory volume on the *Psalms* is concerned with the general question of Hebrew poetry,[3] and it is one of the most valuable things Ewald ever wrote. Among his earliest contributions to literature were Essays on Sanscrit and Arabic poetry. For years he had read with pupils the *Mu'allaqāt* and *Hamasa*, which contain the oldest and finest specimens of Arabic poetry. If he studied at Bonn it is highly probable that he read the *Hamasa* under Freytag, for the latter edited and translated these poems with the native Commentary of at-Tebrizi, bringing out the first volume in 1828, the year after Ewald is said to have been a pupil of Freytag's; and it is known—I have it on Kamphausen's authority—that Freytag

[1] *Christliche Glaube* (1835), § 12 and § 132. See Appendix I. 3.
[2] See *History of Christ*, vol. v. (vi. in English) of the History.
[3] See Bibliography, Nos. 3 and 5.

almost invariably read the *Hamasa* with his pupils. Ewald had nothing of consequence to guide him except the path-breaking works of Lowth and Herder. The theories of Ley, Bickell, Briggs, and Grimme were not yet, and it is certain that he would have ill liked the liberties which these men—especially Bickell and Briggs—take with the traditional text, in order to make the facts square with the theories, instead of the reverse. The first form of this disquisition is to be met with in an English dress.[1] In the Commentaries on *Psalms* and *Job* he shows marvellous power of entering into the mind and mood of the writer. Let any merely English reader go through the English rendering of Ewald's *Job*,[2] and he will marvel at the psychological skill with which the characters in the poem are delineated and the author's scheme set forth. There is not nearly the appearance of learning that one meets with in the best modern Commentaries, as, *e.g.*, those of Delitzsch, Dillmann, Cheyne, Driver, and Moore. Not much Hebrew type shows itself on the printed page. There is no great display of names; nor is much said of opinions other than his own. This was exactly the method he followed in class.[3] He was usually content with stating and defending what he thought the right conception of the text. But there is never wanting complete sympathy between the commentator and his author, and no one has been more successful in surrounding the book explained and even the parts with an atmosphere which seems, at least, to suit the connection,

[1] See Bibliography, No. 11. [2] *Ibid.* [3] See p. 38.

and which makes the song or the poem very real and impressive.

His Commentaries on the *Prophets* are yet finer performances. He was himself a prophet as sincere, intuitive, intense, and fearless as Amos or Hosea, as Isaiah or Jeremiah. Writing in 1870, "T. K. Cheyne, M.A., Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford," says: "Ewald's work on the Prophets is certainly the most important contribution ever made to the study of the subject."[1] His interest lies not so much in questions of introduction, authorship, date, and the like, as in the subject-matter to be expounded: the times, the prophetic message, what it meant and what it means. It has been pointed out[2] that in the class Ewald applied the teaching of the ancient prophets to his own time. In the world in the nineteenth century, in the Germany of Ewald's day, there was disloyalty to God and to righteousness as great as in the times of Amos and Isaiah, and men of equal insight, integrity, and daring were as much wanted still.

Though the allusions to current events occur in the prefaces[3] rather than in the Commentaries themselves, he was undoubtedly stirred up and prompted in much of what is in the exposition by the feeling that the Old Testament is for all times. As in class, so in his Commentaries, one hears the poet sing and the seer utter his prophecy; the past is made to live itself over again, just as Dr. George Adam Smith

[1] *Book of Isaiah*, 1870, p. vi. [2] P. 38 f.

[3] See *Vorrede* of *Prepheter*, ii. (1868), and of *Dichter*, ii. (1867); and the *Vorreden* to the vols. of the *Geschichte* and of *Die Lehre*.

made *Isaiah* a yet living, teaching book.[1] Ewald did not trouble much about correcting the text. He took it for granted that what the Massoretes have handed down to us is fairly correct in all its parts, and he set himself to explain that text without altering it to make the explaining easier. Pupils in Dillmann's classes will remember the sarcastic references he was fond of making to the men who, he said, know too little Hebrew grammar, or have too little discernment, to see the meaning of the traditional Hebrew text of the Old Testament, and untie the knot by cutting it —explain the text by changing it. But it cannot be doubted that the Old Testament text has, in parts, suffered so much corruption as to make any sensible translation impossible, be the knowledge of the Hebrew ever so extensive and accurate on the part of the translator, and the ingenuity ever so striking. Look, for example, at the so-called *Song of Deborah*,[2] at the account of the Temple of Solomon in 1 Kings vi., vii., and of the Temple of Ezekiel in Ezekiel xli.–xliii.:[3] without resorting to emendations of the Massoretic text, more or less conjectural, with or without the aid of the versions, it is impossible to construe or translate the Hebrew. Nor does Ewald disdain this means of getting at the mind of the original writers when he is driven to it, as anyone may see who will

[1] *Expositor's Bible*, 2 vols.

[2] Judges v. See the recent Commentaries by Moore, Budde, and Nowack.

[3] For the literature, see "Temple" by the present writer, in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*.

Mit besten Grüßen

Ihr

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be at the trouble of consulting his Commentaries. In Wellhausen's *Samuel* we have one of the finest instances extant of what may be done to restore a corrupt text. On this matter no fixed rule applicable to all the cases can be laid down, except this, that every available device—grammatical, etc.—must be employed to make sense out of the traditional text, reconstruction being a last resort; only, it should not be forgotten that, in the Septuagint, we have represented a second traditional Hebrew text.

HEBREW GRAMMAR

Wellhausen[1] is of opinion that Ewald's performances in the department of linguistics constitute his first most important and most original work. To estimate the merit of his writings referring to Arabic grammar, Arabic and Sanscrit metre, his discussions on the relations between the Semitic languages, his papers on Phœnician and Ethiopic texts, etc., one has to remember the state of knowledge concerning these subjects when Ewald wrote. We know more of what he did for Hebrew grammar, and the value of this is most generally acknowledged to-day. Hitzig[2] spoke of him as the "second founder of the Science of Hebrew Grammar." Ewald was great at general-

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 65.

[2] Hitzig dedicates his Commentary on *Isaiah* "Dem Neugründer einer Wissenschaft hebräischer Sprache, und dadurch der Exegese des Alten Testamentes G. H. A. Ewald . . . als Zeichen der Anerkennung vielfacher und grosser Verdienste."

ising. He was the first to reduce the multifarious phenomena of the Hebrew tongue to system; to discover the philosophical character of this tongue; and to point out the underlying principles that govern its sounds, the formation of its words, and the construction of its sentences. While that great German, Gesenius, was content, for the most part, with the statement and classification of the phenomena of the language, Ewald laboured hard to discover the causes of the phenomena and their connection with other phenomena. Gesenius may be said to have concerned himself with the *facts* of the language. Ewald interested himself most in the principles involved in the facts. Gesenius's grammar was clear in statement and logical in arrangement, and therefore had much more vogue than Ewald's, which was more original and philosophical in treatment, but involved and obscure in expression. In the first edition of his Grammar he seems to make no use of Sanscrit for the interpretation of Hebrew. But between the writing of this edition (1826) and the issue of the second edition (1828) he had studied Sanscrit at Berlin under Bopp and Rosen. So in this edition and in subsequent editions he brings his knowledge of the language of the Vedas to bear upon Semitic in general and upon Hebrew in particular. In the preface to this edition he says, *inter alia*:[1] "The three or four years which have elapsed

[1] Quoted in the preface (p. xii) to Dr. Nicholson's *Translation of Ewald's Grammar*. The words cited are lacking in the *Vorwort* to the 3rd edition (1835).

since the composition of the larger work could not pass without my examining the writings of the Old Testament afresh, and becoming, from the general progress of my studies, more distinctly and certainly conscious of the internal grounds of the Hebrew language. During this time, too, I have learned Sanscrit, and discovered with joy the manifold use which this pure primitive language has even for the correct explanation of Hebrew." No fresh knowledge came to Ewald amiss. Everything he knew or got to know stood, in his mind, in some connection with the rest of his knowledge. He points out that though Semitic is very weak in its power of making compound words as compared with the Sanscrit class of languages, yet it has the advantage of being able to annex nouns and their like, and of making virtual compounds of them.[1]

Ewald contributed so much to the understanding of Hebrew Syntax that Wellhausen calls him its creator,[2] and he adds that since Ewald's day little that is worth preserving has been suggested; least of all, he thinks, the use made of Arabic. I once asked Professor Wellhausen, not then knowing his opinion on the matter, what he thought of the wisdom of applying the principles of Arabic to the Syntax of the Old Testament. He answered immediately and emphatically, "Es ist nur Schwindelei,"

[1] See *Grammar*[2] (1835), § 13 (p. 6). The Welsh language has also this power of annexion (iḍāf); *e.g.* *Cair Duw* = the word of God (literally, *word God*).

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 66.

"it is nothing but fraud." It may seem presumptuous to set oneself up against the authority of so brilliant a man, but one fears that, as in the case of Dillmann, the disciple Wellhausen remains too much under the influence of the master—eloquent testimony surely to the extraordinary power wielded by that master! Certainly it is a defect in the Syntax of Ewald that he seeks so little light from Arabic. "Case" in grammar may be defined as a distinct form of the word—noun, etc.—indicating its relation to the rest of the sentence. Sometimes such relation is shown by a mere preposition, sometimes by a preposition and a case ending. But in Hebrew case endings have almost wholly vanished; yet we find words in case relations with neither ending nor preposition to show what the relation is. In such instances we are certainly justified and even called upon to use our knowledge of the kindred languages—Arabic, Ethiopic, etc.—to interpret the force of such words, just as Anglo-Saxon and Old English are made to illustrate and account for the usages of modern English. When, *e.g.*, we find nouns used alone to denote place at, time how long, etc., with no visible sign of that, it makes the matter clearer to be told that at one time there was an Accusative ending to indicate these shades of meaning, and that in literary Arabic, and even to a large extent in the Arabic spoken to-day, such endings are preserved. In the Hebrew verb the Voluntative (Cohortative and Jussive) appears in a new and clearer light when we look at it through analogous forms in Arabic. The *nun*

energicum, *nun epentheticum*, *nun demonstrativum* can be understood only as a survival of what is still to be seen in the so-called *Energetic* of the Arabic verb. It should be remembered that Ewald regarded Arabic as the youngest of the Semitic languages, and as therefore very little likely to throw light on Hebrew, which he considered the oldest;[1] though he acknowledges that Arabic has preserved some of the most primitive forms and constructions of ancient Semitic, such as in Hebrew are lost.[1] The cases in Arabic are later outgrowths of primitive Semitic; they were never found in Hebrew. This last is what he teaches in the earliest editions of his Hebrew Grammar. Thus in the first edition (1827) he says, "The language has not developed cases."[2] In the third edition he modifies his words slightly and says, "The Hebrew language has not moved on to the formation of cases in the sense of the Indo-Germanic languages."[3] In the latest edition of his Grammar—the *Ausführliches Lehrbuch*—he recognises in the *he locale* the survival of a case ending (Accus.) which really existed at one time in the living speech.[4] The rare endings ō and ī,[5] now regarded as survivals of the Nominative and Genitive cases respectively,[6] were to the last taken by Ewald

[1] See his *Abhandlung über die Geschichtliche Folge der Semitischen Sprachen*, and the Preface to his *Arabic Grammar*, i.

[2] P. 352: "Die Sprache hat keine Casus ausbildet."

[3] P. 254: "Die hebr. Sprache is nicht zu der Casus-Bildung im Sinne der indo-germanischen Sprachen fortgeschritten."

[4] *Ausf. Gram.*[7], 520 ff. [5] The so-called *literæ compaginis*.

[6] Gesen.-Kautzsch[27], § 90; cf. Barth in *Z.D.M.G.* lxii. 593 ff.

to be connecting vowels uniting the Construct to its Genitive;[1] and it seems in favour of Ewald's view, as far as concerns the ending ī, that this last is appended not to the Genitive but to the governing word (the Construct).

In the *Vorrede* to the last edition of his *Ausführ. Gram.* — which he calls the seventh and eighth, though the seventh has not the words quoted—Ewald says: "We must study Hebrew as historically handed down to us, and not as re-made on the model of Arabic. In this last case we are apt to be carried away by fancies. This last has been the fate of Julius Olshausen in his Grammar of 1861, vol. i.—the only one published. This volume contains absolutely nothing correct which has not by me been previously stated. On the contrary, it introduces many fresh blunders, besides repeating the old ones. But its chief error, and that for which this volume seems written to assume and maintain, is that Arabic as we know it is the oldest and best form extant of the original Semitic; so that one may take it as a kind of model for all other Semitic languages. It is almost laughable that one should now go back to the error of the Dutch school founded by J. A. Schultens."

Notwithstanding this protest and others the like, Ewald made considerable use of Arabic in all the forms and editions of his Hebrew Grammar of 1827, as may be easily seen. In even the first edition (1827) he speaks of case *relations* and calls them Nominative, Genitive, and Accusative, and it is a

[1] See *Ausf. Gram.*[7], 532 ff.

good deal more than doubtful whether, without his previous grounding in Arabic, he could have given the world the doctrine of Hebrew Syntax, which his later and fuller Grammars contain, and which has been put at the disposal of English readers in the translation of the Rev. James Kennedy, B.A.[1] How complete that Syntax is may be seen by comparing it with the excellent manuals of August Müller,[2] A. B. Davidson, König, Gesenius-Kautsch[27],[3] and Canon Driver,[4] though all these writers, especially König and Driver, have made original contributions to the subject. The fact that these eminent scholars make large use of Arabic in developing their doctrine of Hebrew Syntax is in favour of this use of Arabic.

The modern conception of the so-called Hebrew "Tenses" is probably due entirely to Ewald. See what has been already said in connection with the Ewald-Lee controversy.[5] In his interesting and inspiring work, *Founders of Old Testament Criticism*, Canon Cheyne, who is himself certainly such a founder, says:[6] "Like Ewald, he (Eichhorn) was not merely a Hebraist but a Semitic philologist, and propagated that sound doctrine of the so-called Tenses which is due especially to that patriarch of Semitic learning, Albert Schultens." Now it is almost certain that our great Oxford scholar was prompted by an excessive admiration of Schultens and Eichhorn when he wrote the above words. There is, I think, no proof what-

[1] T. & T. Clark, 1881. [2] Englished by Dr. James Robertson.
[3] English translation of 26th edition, published by Clarendon Press.
[4] *Hebrew Tenses.* [5] P. 47 ff. [6] P. 69.

ever that anyone anticipated the teaching of Ewald—that no form of the verb conveys the idea of time as such. If this teaching were anticipated by anyone, it would be well to give chapter and verse for it. In a private letter to me Professor Wellhausen writes under date November 26, 1902: "I do not believe, and I have never heard or found, that before Ewald's time Schultens or Eichhorn put forward his doctrine of the Semitic tenses." [1]

Professor Nöldeke of Strasburg, under date December 22, 1902, writes: "Unless I am wholly deceived, Ewald was the first to apprehend more definitely the essence of the Semitic tenses. I have looked at the corresponding sections of an old edition of Gesenius's Grammar (1828) and of the 2nd (3rd?) edition of Ewald's Grammar (1835); the difference between them shows itself in these sections. In Gesenius everything is all right for the beginner, but it is external, and follows the categories of Latin and German; in Ewald everything penetrates deeply down, seeking the essence of the language itself." [2]

Schultens (†1750) edited the Arabic Grammar of

[1] "Ich glaube nicht und habe niemals gehört und gefunden dass Schultens oder Eichhorn vor Ewald dessen Lehre über die semitischen Tempora vorgetragen hätten."

[2] "Wenn mich nicht alles trügt, hat Ewald zuerst das Wesen der semitischen Tempore näher erfasst. Ich habe die betreffenden §§ in einer alten Ausgabe von Gesenius's Grammatik (1828) und in der 2 Aufl. von Ewald's Grammatik (1835) angeschen: da zeigt sich der ganze Unterschied. Bei Gesenius ist alles für den Anfänger bequem, aber äusserlich und nach Kategorien aus dem Lateinischen und Deutschen: bei Ewald ist alles tief greifend, das Wesen der Sprache selbst erforschend."

Th. Nöldeke. Herbst 1902.

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Erpenius,[1] and in it are retained the old names *Præteritum* and *Futurum*, answering to the names used by the Arab[2] and Jewish[3] grammarians. If Schultens had any inkling of that conception of the Semitic tenses which we associate with the name of Ewald, he would certainly have given expression to it in the Arabic Grammar which he edited. But there is not a syllable of dissent indicated from the current doctrine. I cannot find out in what part of his writings Eichhorn anticipates Ewald's teaching on this, and in a very courteous note Canon Cheyne admits that at the present time he is unable to prove what he has stated concerning Schultens and Eichhorn, though he drops a hint that his inability arises from lack of time to make the necessary researches.

N. W. Schröder (†1798 at Groningen, where he was professor) in his Hebrew Grammar[4] explains the force of the strong waw (*vav conversiva* he calls it) with the Imperfect, much as Ewald explains it. Schröder distinguishes between the Absolute Future (= Imperfect) and the Relative Future, the latter being that used with the waw consecutive (as Ewald called it) after the Præterite (= Perfect). But he does not abandon the old notion that the "tenses" of the verb express time as such.

[1] Lug. Bat. 1776 (2nd edition); cf. p. 49 ff.; but see Appendix I. 4.

[2] *El-Mâḍi* and *el-Mustaqbalu* (= *el-Muḍâri'u*).

[3] *'Abar* and *'Atid*.

[4] *Institutiones ad Fundamenta Linguæ Hebrææ* : Groningæ, 1766; see p. 340 f. Canon Driver, in his excellent work on the *Hebrew Tenses*[3], quotes the whole passage (§ 67, ob. 2), but from the edition published at Ulm in 1785.

In the first edition of his Hebrew Grammar Ewald called the "tenses" *modes*—rightly so in so far as the tense forms convey the idea of *mode* of action, not that of *time*; but wrongly because there are *moods* of the usual kind in Hebrew, and the word is wanted for them. Moreover, his *Conjunctive* mood (Imperfect) is as often employed in the Indicative. In the Arabic Grammar of 1831–33, if not even in the Hebrew Grammar of 1828,—which I have no means of consulting,—he had reached the modern doctrine, and uses the terms *Perfect* and *Imperfect*, now almost universal in Semitic grammars.

HISTORY OF ISRAEL

Ewald's *History of Israel* is, of all his works, the best known and most read. Its teaching has been embodied in the three charmingly written volumes by Dean Stanley, entitled *The Jewish Church*. It is written in eight octavo volumes of about seven hundred pages apiece. The mechanical effort of writing so much was an enormous task in itself. But the work displays prodigious learning, patient and painstaking research, rare insight, strong emotion, and a marvellous faculty for generalisation. Up to that time biblical criticism had been mainly destructive in its attitude, though not wholly so, as the *Biblische Theologie*[1] of Vatke shows. It had become

[1] Vol. i. (1835) alone of this great work appeared. It anticipated by way of Hegel's philosophy the course of Old Testament history now generally agreed upon.

impossible to regard the Bible as having an origin out of relation to human history. Scholars were now using the light and liberty which they enjoyed in discussing freely the age and authorship of the "Library" which we call the Old Testament, and certain results of a literary kind were reached—results which would revolutionise the ideas previously held as to the course taken by the religion of Israel. Some master mind was now needed to reconstruct biblical history according to the new facts, literary and monumental, which had come to light. Moreover, new ideas were then in the air as to the philosophy of history, due in the main to that other master mind Hegel: and let Ewald attack that philosophy as much as he might, he came under its influence, and it dominated his way of looking at things. On the 10th of February 1835 Dr. Thomas Arnold wrote to Chevalier Bunsen thus: "The criticism of the Old Testament, the dates of the several books, their origin, etc., all seems to me undecided, and what Wolf and Niehbuhr have done for Greece and Rome seems sadly needed for Judæa."[1] Ewald essayed this ambitious task; not, however, so much in settling the dates of books,—he was never great at Isagogics,—but in reconstructing the history of the people and their religion on the basis of certain fairly assured results of dates and authorship of books. He was not content to assume off-hand the dates supplied by other workers. He corrected these when he thought they needed it, and added results attained

[1] *Life and Correspondence of Dr. Thomas Arnold* (1845), i. 412 f.

by his own indefatigable efforts, especially in the field of Pentateuch criticism. Prior to attempting this huge undertaking, he had written Commentaries on the poetical and prophetical books of the Old Testament, and this had necessitated his making a careful examination of the principal parts of the Old Testament. Nor had the New Testament been neglected, as the volumes of the *Jahrbücher* and his New Testament expositions prove: though these last were actually published after the *History* was completed, Ewald occupied himself more or less with New Testament studies throughout the period of his stay at Tübingen (1838–1848). Such an examination of the biblical writings was absolutely essential before proceeding to construct a history that was to grow out of these writings. He distinguished carefully, as far as his knowledge went, between that which is strictly historical in both Testaments and that which is not. He endeavours to make sure, first of all, of the materials he has to work with; he then sets to in building up the history. He estimates and explains the sources (*Quellen*) of the history before constructing and writing the history itself. He divides the history of the Old Testament into three great periods, as follows:—

I. "Moses and the Theocracy, or the History of the Hebrews."

II. "David and the Monarchy, or the History of the Israelites."

III. "Ezra and the Hagiocracy, or the History of the Jews."

All through, the central thing in the history is the religion. The history of the people is the history of their religious life and thought, for Israel was separated from the rest of the world that God might through them speak to the race. At every step Ewald sees the hand of Yahwe, causing it to be well with the righteous and ill with the wicked. Of the Hexateuch sources Ewald is to be compared with the Deuteronomist, in that he preaches throughout the history, and in each case the history is pragmatic. It is not to be doubted that, as Wellhausen points out,[1] Vatke and de Wette showed a truer conception of the course that Israel's religion took; but these men saw and briefly indicated the vision which they saw. Ewald developed the vision of the history as it appeared to him with extraordinary fulness and sympathy.

Ewald wrote his History and his Commentaries, as it were, with his own blood. His whole being quivered with sympathetic emotion as he described the men and movements of ancient Israel. He seemed to "live, move, and have his being" in the writings and times which he had under consideration. And yet no one lived more intensely in his own time than this man. He was touched to the quick by the things that were happening around him in Church and in State. To him history is always repeating itself. National movements in his day had their counterparts in all times and among all peoples. He saw the fate of his much beloved Hanover adumbrated in Israel, the elect

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 74.

people, despised, rejected, and oppressed by the Gentiles (= Prussia). This is not on the surface in the written History, but it came out in his lectures, and it is no doubt that which lends reality and vividness to the History. In the preface to vol. iii. of the *Geschichte*, he says: "Will the people of Berlin and of other parts of Germany learn (from this History) what right government is? What is the good of history if it teaches not?"

Since Ewald's time the literary critic of the Bible, the anthropologist, archæologist, and the Bible exegete have been at work. We know, or at least we ought to know, more than he, about the history of religion in general, and about the history of Semitic religion in particular. The science of comparative religion had hardly begun to be studied, and very little had been done to trace the growth of religious thought and practice among the nations of the world. Arabist though he was down to his boots, he did not perceive, as his famous pupils W. Robertson Smith and Wellhausen did, the value of Arabic literature for tracing the early form and development of Semitic religion. We want another *History of Israel*, conceived on the same large scale, executed with the same industry, care, and learning, but making full use of all the available sources, literary, monumental, anthropological, and archæological. Perhaps the day of such histories by one man is gone, and we may have to be content with assigning different parts of the history to as many investigators. But there will always be need for such a general view of the literature and

fortunes of the Hebrews as Ewald attempted. Wellhausen's *Geschichte* shows the same genius that all his work does, and as a mere literary performance it is a work of art. But it is far and away too brief. Stade's *Geschichte* is much fuller, and it is of great value on account of its use of anthropological data, and because the aid of special writers has been secured for important sections of the book. But THE *History of Israel* remains to be written, and it would be a welcome fact to us, in these islands, if, this time, the task were to be performed by a British scholar.

As a stylist Ewald leaves much to be desired. His sentences are long and involved, his words none of the clearest, his phrasing none of the most striking. He seems to have given all his attention, especially in later years, to the subject-matter, caring little about the setting of it forth. And he is not seldom guilty of prolixity as well as obscurity. As a writer pure and simple he presents a striking contrast to his distinguished pupils W. Robertson Smith and Julius Wellhausen. Yet, take him for all in all, Ewald was one of the greatest and most interesting men that ever lived: indomitable in perseverance, immovable in adherence to principle, unfaltering in his faith in God and in the final triumph of truth and righteousness—his very vices "leaned to virtue's side." His is a splendid figure for teachers and students to keep before their minds as a pattern of whole-souled devotion to duty. Is it too much to hope, nay is it too much to expect, that from among the Old

Testament students of Wales, with the wider horizon of these days, and the larger opportunities, there may arise men who will continue the work begun by Ewald and his like, and thus help to make Wales, in a large degree, a sharer in the intellectual as she is in the religious movements of this our time?

CHAPTER XIV

EWALDIANA

I APPEND a few incidents in the career of Ewald which are interesting and characteristic.

On my way home from Berlin, in the autumn of 1901, I spent some days at Bonn, and for the second time called upon Kamphausen, who related to me one or two things illustrative of Ewald on his weaker side. Years ago Kamphausen was private secretary, at Heidelburg, to Bunsen, so well known in England at one time. Ewald intended to visit Heidelburg, and wrote to tell Bunsen to call and see him at the Hotel Schrieder. Bunsen called the next morning after Ewald was due; but the visitor had come and gone—and on this wise: Upon arriving late the previous night, he gave orders that at 6.30 a.m. the next day a hairdresser should be present to wait upon him. Ewald was ready at the appointed hour, but the hairdresser was not there. After waiting an hour, Ewald in a fit of temper paid his bill and went away without breakfast, and was not heard of in the town any more. When Bunsen called, knowing Ewald well, he enjoyed immensely being told what had happened, and he related the incident in high glee to Kamphausen later on in the day. When

Kamphausen was Privat Docent at Bonn, Ewald visited the place. He called upon Kamphausen; but, finding him out, left his card with a request that he, as the younger man, should seek him out: he would not call upon Kamphausen any more. The "younger man" did look-up his senior. In the course of conversation, Ewald said he had travelled from Cologne in the same compartment as two Roman Catholic priests. "One of them," he said, "arrogantly told me to go to the other end of the compartment." "But," said Ewald, quite seriously, "I did not tell him who I was" (the world-famed Ewald!). Kamphausen told Ewald he supposed he would be calling to see his former pupil Gildemeister. "No," said Ewald, "he must come and see me, for he is younger than I am." "But does he know you are here?" asked Kamphausen. "Oh, he must find out; he is younger than I am."

I may add that Kamphausen told me he thought Ewald distinctly the greatest Old Testament scholar and investigator of the nineteenth century. Yet in many things he was the most childish man he ever met.

An incident of Ewald's Tübingen life was related to me by Professors Seeburg and Hermann Schultz, and it shows, if true, how simple Ewald was in some things, and how free from the love of money. If untrue, the relating of the incident is a proof of what was thought of Ewald's character. His pay at Tübingen more than met his needs, and he was puzzled to know what to do with his surplus cash. One of his colleagues to whom he made known his difficulty, advised him to invest the money he could

spare at interest. "Oh!" he exclaimed, "that will make the money more than ever and the difficulty of dealing with it greater."

After the annexation of Hanover to Prussia in 1866 the preachers in the State Churches, which, notwithstanding Ewald's fears, continued and continue to be Lutheran,[1] were compelled to offer up public prayers for the new king, William of Prussia. Ewald vowed he would never join in such a prayer, nor would he form part of a congregation in which a prayer for the Raüberhauptmann (arch-robber) was put up. From this time he absented himself from the morning service, but on Sunday afternoons he was always in his place at St. John's Church. I am indebted for my acquaintance with this incident to the genial and able Professor Rudolf Smend.

After his return to Göttingen in 1848, his father-in-law, Schleiermacher of Darmstadt, was on a visit to him. It so happened that the Archduke of Hesse-Darmstadt was at the time in Göttingen. He was invited, with some distinguished professors, to meet his father-in-law at *Abendessen*, and he accepted the invitation. When the eating was over, there was some speaking; Ewald, of course, taking his part. In the course of his address he animadverted strongly on the duties of rulers towards their subjects, and complained that they cared so much for them-

[1] In Prussia proper the United Evangelical Church is that recognised by the State since 1838. See full account of the steps leading to the Union, in a Welsh article by the present writer in the *Greal*, August 1884.

selves and so little for the people. Some one reminded him of the unwisdom of speaking in such a manner in the presence of the Grand Duke. He replied in tones that could be heard by all present: "Oh, he needs to hear such words, and no one else has the courage to utter them."

During the political events of 1866–67 an Oxford student went over to Göttingen to continue his Semitic studies. Calling upon Ewald, he asked what had brought him to that town. The student answered that he came to further his knowledge of Hebrew, Arabic, etc. Ewald drew himself up, and said with great vehemence: "Mein Herr: do you think this a time to bother about dead languages, when over 100,000 living men and women are, in this very kingdom, smarting under the whip of a tyrant?"

Wellhausen thinks[1] that Ewald's deep-rooted hatred of Prussia arose on this wise. On the 17th of March 1854 he was on a visit to his friend and former colleague, Jacob Grimm, then professor at Berlin. He had gone without the necessary passport. As he passed along the streets, his long flowing hair, his gaunt form, and his prominent cheeks marked him out for no common man. A policeman became suspicious of this remarkable-looking personage, and demanded his pass. Ewald had no papers that could prove who he was. His efforts to persuade the policeman of his *bona fides* were all in vain, so that the latter walked along with him every step until Jacob Grimm's house was reached. Ewald

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 79.

never forgot or forgave this affront, and to it is due, Wellhausen thinks, his dislike of Prussia. But Ewald's conduct during 1867 and after, and the consistency with which he opposed the King of Hanover when in his opinion wrong,[1] and defended him when he considered him right, show that he was prompted, all along, by principles which to him were above all personal feeling; though the incident related may have deepened Ewald's antagonism to Prussia.

A well-known Oxford professor related to me the following incident of Ewald's visit to Oxford in 1862. He was guest part of the time of the late Rev. Henry Octavius Cox, M.A. (†1881), Chief Librarian at the Bodleian. Mr. Cox was renowned for his devoutness, and conducted prayers in his home morning and evening. An Oxford don, now devoted to literature, asked Ewald what he thought of the family prayers at Mr. Cox's. He answered: "Oh, very English; but a great waste of time."

In the winter of 1866–67 Professor William Medley, M.A., of Rawdon Baptist College, accompanied by Professor James Sully, M.A., of University College, London, both of them at the time ministerial students at the Regent's Park Baptist College (the late Dr. Angus being President), went to Göttingen, chiefly to continue the Hebrew studies commenced under the late beloved and eminent Dr. Benjamin Davies.[2]

[1] As in 1837.

[2] See account by the present writer of the Life and Work of Dr. Davies, together with portrait, in the Welsh bi-monthly *Seren Gomer*, 1898, p. 113 ff.

Professor Medley writes, in his own charming way, of that visit in the *Baptist Times and Freeman* for November 1901. "It was," he says, "the fame of Ewald, and the fact that we had letters of introduction to the grand old enthusiast for biblical scholarship, that drew us to Göttingen. Most cordially did he receive us, and the impression of his noble bearing remains with me still as an inspiring memory. He had not actually ceased to hold office as professor at the University in 1867, and we attended daily his lectures on the Psalms. . . . Through all that was characteristic of the man of erudition the glow of the hidden fire within the man constituted the essential power that held us enchained. There was that about him in his appearance and delivery that suggested an inspired prophet. . . . An unmistakable accent of conviction rang out in his passionate utterances; while a certain simple yet noble aristocracy, as well of spirit as of intellect, characterised his speech, and communicated itself to all his ways. . . . His study was of the very simplest, but bore the manifest proof in all its bearings that it was a study indeed . . .; a comparatively unfurnished attic, crowded up with books and manuscripts and litter. . . . It was an additional interest to my life in Göttingen, that, in the later weeks of my sojourn there, T. K. Cheyne, who has since made a niche of his own among the most devout of our higher critics, came to reside for a while in the little town. . . . My Oriental studies were limited to Hebrew, having resisted my dear old tutor's seduc-

tive pleas for an extension to Syriac. When in Göttingen, my friend Cheyne, who was an enthusiast in Ethiopic, once casually remarked that Syriac was contemptibly easy: I was much comforted, for I felt justified in utterly abstaining from whatever was contemptible."

The foregoing pages do not by any means give an account of all the wars that Ewald waged with individuals or with bodies of men.

In 1862 he vigorously opposed the introduction of the Walther Catechism into the churches belonging to the Hanover Consistory. A year later he was elected a member of the Synod, and worked earnestly and successfully for the reform of the ecclesiastical laws of Hanover.

He stood boldly against the introduction into Hanover of the Evangelical United Church of Prussia. He preferred the Lutheran Church, as being truer to what he considered to be the evangelical faith. That the established Church of Hanover remains the Lutheran is due in no small degree to the outspoken speech and fearless action of Ewald as a private citizen and as a member of the Prussian Parliament.

He had an inveterate hatred of Romanism, and lost no opportunity of expressing it. Dillmann refers to a heated controversy which, single-handed, he carried on with the papal bishops and other leading Romanists in Germany, between the years 1852–58.[1]

[1] *Im Neuen Reich*, 1875, p. 785.

Against de Wette (†1849), the distinguished Old Testament scholar — a man who suffered for his opinions with great fortitude and meekness—Ewald wrote with much acrimony in vol. iv. of his *Poetischen Bücher*.[1] Indeed, the strong language used by Ewald of this great and good man shows that the writer's feelings could becloud his judgment. There are many other instances of the same effect of his feelings.

At the close of the volume just named there are several poems composed by Ewald during his visit to Italy in 1836. They deal with scenes in Rome and with the churches. They teem with that strong anti-papal sentiment which showed itself so powerfully in later times, but they do not reveal extraordinary skill in the poetic art.

Ewald visited Paris in 1829, and he must in the course of that visit have come in contact with de Sacy.[2]

[1] P. 252 f.

[2] See p. 44 ff. and p. 108 ff.

APPENDIX I

I. LETTERS

From Ewald to Dr. Rowland Williams

Sehr geehrter Herr, — Höchst erfreulich war mir die Ansicht auf Ihre persönliche Bekanntschaft welche mir Dr. Davidson zu London und zugleich Ihre eigenen lieben Zeilen eroffneten. Ich las Ihren Essay on Bunsen, und gab schon vor länger als einem Jahr in den *Göttingischen Gelehrten Anzeigen* eine Beurtheilung der 7 Essays and Rev. In den letzen Wochen vor meiner Reise las ich *On Hinduism and Christianity*, und nicht bloss mit grosster Theilnahme sondern auch so dass ich vermuthete nur *Sie* können der Verfasser sein: was mir in London Dr. Davidson bestätigte. So möchte ich gern mit Ihnen über das Christentum unsrer Zeit und unsrer Zukunft etwas weiter reden: vielleicht können wenige in England mir so gut davon reden wie sie; zumahl Dr. Stanley in Oxford abwesend ist. Doch fürchte, ich eben so sehr dass die geringe Fertigkeit ins Englischen welche ich habe ein grosses Hinderniss sein werde und Sie von mir wenig nutzen haben

könnten. Nur wenn Sie dieses Hinderniss nicht für so gross halten würden, würde ich gerne auf *einige Stunden* Sie aufsuchen, am liebsten hier von Oxford aus: und ich möchte Sie in diesem Falle bitten mir wenn es geht, am liebsten für *nächsten Sondag* oder *Montag* eine Ihnen am besten passende Stunde zu bestimmen.

Ueber der aufrichtiger Versicherung meiner herzlichen verehrung,—Ihr, ergebenster,

H. EWALD.

OXFORD, HIGH STREET, 76,
August 20, '62.

Translation

MUCH HONOURED SIR,—The prospect of making your personal acquaintance, which Dr. Davidson in London and also your own friendly lines opened to me, was a source of great joy to me. I read your Essay on Bunsen, and I gave an estimate of the 7 Essays and Reviews over a year ago in the *Götting. Gelehr. Anzeigen.* In the last weeks before my journey (to England) I read *On Hinduism and Christianity*, and not alone with the greatest sympathy, but also supposing that you alone could be the author—an impression which Dr. Davidson in London confirmed. I should much like to speak to you further concerning the Christianity of our time and our future. Few perhaps in England can so well as you speak to me of the subject; for the time being Dr. Stanley is absent from Oxford. Yet I fear ever so much that the small attainments in English which

I have will be a great hindrance and (that) you will be able to get little good out of me. Only on the understanding that you do not regard this hindrance as so great would I gladly visit you for a few hours: and preferably from Oxford where I am: in this case I would ask you to fix for me the hour that suits you best, preferably on Sunday or Monday next.

With the thorough assurance of my hearty respect, —Yours most humbly, H. EWALD.

OXFORD, HIGH STREET, 76,
August 20, '62.

THE SAME

WERTHESTER HERR,—Sie verzeihen mir wohl wenn ich Ihre freundliche Zeilen die ich schon vor vielen Wochen empfing erst jetzt beantworte: doch soll mein herzlicher Dank für sie nicht völlig fehlen, wenn ich Ihnen auch nicht melden kann dass bei uns bereits eine völlige Wendung zum Bessern eingetreten sei. Furchteten Sie damals ich möge vielleicht zu rasch verfahren: so konnte ich mir leicht denken dass Sie doch die ganze grösse der entseztichen Preussischen Tyrannei unter welcher jetzt ganz Deutschland seufzt nicht vollkommen genug kennen, weil die *Times* und so viele andre Englische Zeitungen die Wahrheit verkennen und bloss das wissen was ihnen von Berlin an gemeldet wird. Die Sache ist kurz: Preussen hat aus *blosser Raubsucht* Deutschland völlig zerstört, alles öffentliche Recht und *alles Christenthum* zu Boden geworfen. Leben, Vermögen,

Besitz und guten Namen aller der besten Deutschen, Fürsten und Andren zu grund gerichtet; und eine Herrschaft aufgerichtet welcher Deutschland und das bessere Christenthum gänzlich schwächt und unträgliche Elend bereitet. Bedenken Sie nur das eine: Preussen behandelt nicht bloss *alle* die besten Deutschen als reine Sclaven, es unterdrucht auch alle und jede Freiheit, sogar die der Presse. Wollen sie dies näher erkennen, so sehen sie doch etwas näher auf eigenen Schriften von der einen, und meine Geschicke von der andren Seite. Ist es möglich dass man in England einen Zustand lobt welcher dem von Macaulay beschiebenen Englischen unter Jeffries und James II. in den letzten Jahren vor 1688 so ähnlich ist wie Ei dem andern? Und doch ist unser Zustand, näher betrachtet, noch weit ensetzliches als jener war. Oder was sollte mich denn bewegen, noch in meinem 66ten Lebensjahre (wenn das möglich wäre) alles Feuer meiner Jugend hervorzusuchen, wenn ich nicht die tödliche Gefahr vor Augen sähe in welcher jetzt alles Deutsche Volk und zugleich alles wahre Christentum liegt?

Ich weiss wie viel Sie selbst durch verfolgung litten. Sie können daher die von bösen Feinden verfolgten besser Schätzen. Aber was ist alles von Ihnen geduldet gegen das was ich jetzt mitten unter allen den besten Deutschen zu erfahren habe? Wissen sie nicht was Strassenräuber sind? Nun nichts als dies sind unsre Feinde, nur dass sie bis jetzt ungestraft die Kunst treiben können auch in zierlichen prachtlichen Kleidern sich in die Europ-

aische Gessellschaft einzumischen. Wir erwarten von den Englandern keine Hülfe durch die Waffen: aber dass Sie die Grossraüber Europas in den Schutz nehmen ist doch zu arg.

Übrigens bitte ich Sie von diesen meinen Worten in England jeden beliebigen Gebrauch zu machen.

Mit Vergnügen erinnere ich mich noch der Stunden die ich 1862 in Ihrem lieblichen Hause zugebracht. Bitte empfehlen Sie mich Ihren lieben Hausgenossen, und seien herzlich gegrüsst.—Von Ihrem ergebenster,

EWALD.

GÖTTINGEN, 15/3, '69.

Rev. ROWLAND WILLIAMS, D.D.

Ist denn nicht schon eine Fortsetzung Ihrer Hebrew Prophets da?

Translation

MOST WORTHY SIR,—You will no doubt forgive me that I only now reply to your friendly lines received some weeks back. Yet my hearty gratitude to you shall not (wholly) fail, though I am unable to inform you that among us a complete change for the better has set in. You feared that I might perhaps act too rashly: I could therefore well think that you have not a sufficiently complete knowledge of the whole extent of the detestable Prussian tyranny under which now all Germany sighs, because the *Times* and other English papers deny the truth, and know that only which is communicated to them from Berlin. The matter is short: Prussia has, from mere

love of plunder, completely disturbed Germany, has thrown to the ground all public justice, all Christianity, and has destroyed life, wealth, property, and the fair fame of all the best Germans, princes and others; and has set up a dominion which wholly weakens Germany and the better form of Christianity, and brings about unbearable misery. Think you only of this one thing: Prussia not only treats all the best Germans as pure slaves, but it suppresses also all and every kind of Liberty, even that of the press. If you wish to know this more closely, you will see something more detailed in my own writings on the one hand, and in my fate on the other. Is it possible that in England that condition of things is praised which is as like that of England under Jeffries and James II., described by Macaulay, as one egg is like another? Our condition is, when more closely looked at, much more appalling than that in England referred to. Or what could then stir me up, in the 66th year of my age, to exhibit, if that were possible, all the fire of my youth, if it is not that I see before my eyes the very deadly danger in which now the whole German population, and at the same time all true Christianity, lies?

I know how much you yourself suffered through persecution; you can therefore the better appreciate those who are persecuted by wicked foes. What is all that you have suffered in comparison with that which I have now, among the best Germans, to experience? Know you not what street robbers are? Nothing other than these are our foes; only that these last,

yet unpunished, know how to practise the art of mixing, gorgeously arrayed, in European society. We do not expect the assistance of English arms, but that England should take the greater robbers of Europe under her protection is too bad.

Moreover I beg you to make any use, in England, which you choose, of these my words.

With pleasure I recall the hours which I in 1862 spent in your charming home. Please give my compliments to the folk in your house, and be yourself heartily greeted.—From yours most respectfully,

EWALD.

GÖTTINGEN, 15/3, '69.

Is there yet a continuation of your *Hebrew Prophets*?

LETTER TO MRS. ROWLAND WILLIAMS AFTER THE DEATH OF HER HUSBAND

LIEBE FRAU ROWLAND WILLIAMS,—Ich empfing seiner Zeit richtig Ihre Anzeige des irdischen Hingages Ihres von mir so werth geschätzten Herren Gemahle, und war sehr betrübt darüber, war jedoch damals zu sehr in den Unruhen des Reichstagslebens als dass ich Ihnen sogleich hätte meine aufrichtige Theilnahme an Ihrem Leide ausdrücken können.

Gerne würde ich nun nach Empfang Ihrer werteten Zeilen vom 4ten d. die Briefe des seligen zuruck zu senden, wenn nicht in Folge der grossten in Deutschland durch die preussische Tyrannei verursachte an Unruhen meine Geschäfte und meine Papiere zu sehr

selbst in Unruhe gerathen wären als dass ich jetzt diese leicht ordnen und aussuchen könnte. Dagegen gebe ich Ihnen gerne meine Erlaubniss von allem was ich je Ihrem seligen Herrn Gemahl geschrieben jeden Ihnen beliebigen Gebrauch zu machen.

Erlauben Sie mir bei dieser Gelegenheit Ihnen auch für die Zusendung des von Ihnen besorgten zweiten Bandes der *Prophets* zu danken. Ich habe diesen Band richtig empfangen, und hoffe bald Musse genug zu haben um von ihm in den *Gel. Anzeigen* zu reden.

Immer ist es ein grösstes Glück, ein *Godsend*, wenn ein Gelehrter, so wie Ihr seliger Gemahl eine Witwe zurücklässt die sich seines Andenkens und Ehre unter den Menschen so treu und so fleissig annimmt wie Sie dieses thun. Was Sie weiter für diesen Zweck thun bitt ich Sie mir gütigst mittheilen zu wollen, da Sie meiner steten Theilnahme sicher sind. Mit den besten Wünschen für Ihre Gesundheit und Ihre guten Zwecke, verbleibe ich,—Ihr, ergebenster,

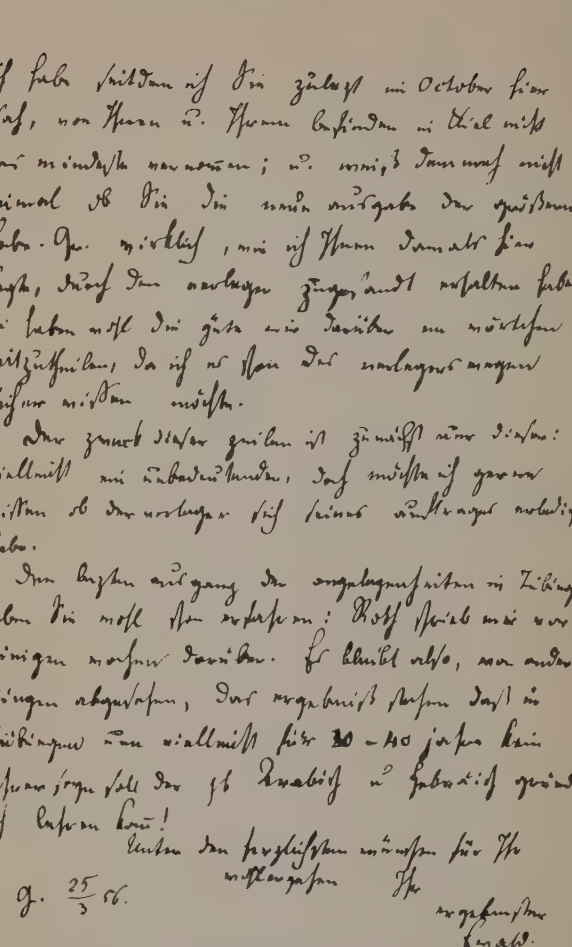
EWALD.

GÖTTINGEN, 16/7, '71.

Translation

DEAR MRS. ROWLAND WILLIAMS,—I received safely at the time your notification of the homegoing of your husband, so greatly valued by me; and I was much distressed on account of it: yet I was at the time too much involved in the ceaseless activities of parliamentary life to be able at once to express my sincere sympathy in your trouble. I would willingly have returned the letters of your beatified one after

Lieber Dillmann!



FACSIMILE OF LETTER FROM EWALD TO DILLMANN.

To face page 107.

receiving your valued lines of the 4th inst., had not, in consequence of the greatest disturbances caused by Prussian tyranny, my affairs and my papers got to be too much in a state of confusion for me now to arrange and seek them out.

On the other hand, I give you willingly permission to make any use you like of whatever I have written to your beatified husband.

Allow me to take this opportunity of thanking you also for sending me the second volume of the *Prophets*. I have received this volume safely, and I hope soon to have leisure enough to speak of it in the *Gel. Anzeigen*.

To a learned man like your beatified husband it is always a very fortunate thing, a *Godsend*, to leave behind a widow to take in charge so loyally and industriously the memory and honour (of her husband) among men. What you do further with this object in view please be as good as to let me know, since you are sure of my constant sympathy. With the best wishes for your health and for your good intentions,—I remain, yours very humbly,

EWALD.

GÖTTINGEN, 16/7, '71.

Translation of Facsimile Letter facing this page

DEAR DILLMANN,—Since I saw you here last in October I have not in fact had the least information about you and your condition; and do not know at all whether you have, in reality, received the new edition of the Large Hebrew Grammar, sent as I told you it would be through the publisher. You

will (please) have the goodness to send me a brief word about it, as I wish to be sure on account of the publisher.

The purpose of these lines is primarily this, perhaps an unimportant one, that I wish much to know whether the publisher has carried out his commission.

You have probably had information concerning the last result of the affairs at Tübingen; Roth wrote to me on the matter some weeks back. The fact thus remains, apart from other things, that at Tübingen now for perhaps 30 to 40 years no teacher can stay who is competent to instruct thoroughly in Arabic and Hebrew.—With the heartiest wishes for your prosperity, yours most humbly, EWALD.

GÖTTINGEN, 25/3, '56.

FROM SILVESTRE DE SACY TO EWALD[1]

VIR CLARISSIME,—Annus fere elapsus est, ex quo libellum tuum de metris arabicis, simul et literas quas ad me cal. Septemb, anni 1826 dedisti, accepi; et ægre fero me tamdui distulisse, et debitas tibi agere gratias, et ad humanissimam tuam epistolam respondere. Sed ita res se habet, ut pro nimia negotiorum quibus premor multitudine vix per totius anni decursum otium mihi sit, consuetum et mihi quamdia licuit gratissimum epistolarum commercium, ut solebam colendi et frequentandi, nisi per ferias autumnales, quum cessantibus academicis prælectionibus ruri agere datur et, ex parte saltem, mihi amicisque

[1] Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 84 f.

vivere. Velim ergo, V. Cl., excusatum me habeas et pro certo teneas gratissimum mihi accidisse illud, quo me tibi devinxisti, commentationis tuæ de metris arabicis munusculum. Quid de tua circa metrorum arabicorum indolem et originem sententia mihi videretur, priusquam ad me literas dares, jam declaraveram in Eruditorum Actis, quæ apud nos lingua vernacula singulis nensibus eduntur, et meum hoc de re judicium tibi jam pridem innotuisse nullus dubito. In quo etsi a tua sententia longius discedam, confido te id non nimis ægre tulisse et, pro cognita tibi hominum natura, memorem hujus adagii "quot capita tot sensus" mihi ignovisse. De cætero, indefessum tuum circa pœsim arabicam studium, judicium quoque de cognoscenda prosodiæ arabicæ utilitate ad carmina arabica recte edenda et emendanda, quin et criticum acumen, quo innumeros errores et a me olim et ab aliis viris eruditis in edendis hujusmodi carminibus admissos detexisti et emendasti libens agnovi, et debita laude prosecutus sum. Semper enim ita mecum constitui, viri boni et sinceri humaniorum literarum cultoris esse, dum suam de aliorum lucubrationibus sententiam modeste et libere profert, quæ sibi probantur et laude digna videntur, haudquaquam silentio premere et turpi invidia dissimulare.

Jam te, V. Cl., ad naturam sanscritorum metrorum eruendam progressum esse et de eximia hujus linguæ prosodia opus edidisse videor mihi in diariis literariis legisse. Sed ea sunt ultra meos fines posita, et de quibus doceri malim quam judicem constitui.

Vale, V. Cl., mihique favere perge.

Scribebam Bossiaci a S. Leodegario, ad ix ab urbe lapidem, die xiii cal. novembr. an. 1827.

SILVESTRE DE SACY.

Translation

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SIR,—Almost a year has elapsed since I received your booklet on *Arabic Metres*, and at the same time the letter which you sent me on the first of September 1826. I regret that I have delayed so long in thanking you and in replying to your most kind epistle. But such is the state of affairs that, on account of the excessively large number of things by which I am pressed, I have scarcely through the course of the whole year had leisure to attend continually to the task of writing letters, such as has been usual, and indeed, as long as I could, has been most agreeable to me, except in the autumn holidays, when the academic lectures are over and I am allowed to rusticate and to live to some extent alone and with friends. I wish you therefore, illustrious sir, have me excused, and be assured that that little present of the Treatise on Arabic Metres, by which you have conquered me for yourself, has been most acceptable to me. What I think about your opinion concerning the nature and origin of Arabic metres, I had declared, before you wrote to me, in the Transactions (of a Society of) Learned Men, which have been published month by month in our (French) vernacular tongue, and I have no doubt that my opinion about the matter has been indicated to you. Though in this I depart much

from your opinion, I trust you will not take it very ill-naturedly, and as you know human nature that you will forgive me, mindful of this adage, "As many opinions as heads." For the rest I have willingly acknowledged and followed with the praise that was due your untiring devotion to Arabic poetry, and your judgment as to acknowledging the use of Arabic prosody with a view to editing accurately and emending Arabic poems, as also the critical acumen with which you have discovered and corrected innumerable mistakes committed by me at a former time and by other learned men in editing poems in this way. For I have always thus resolved in my own mind that it belongs to a good man and a sincere devotee of letters, while he puts forth modestly and freely his own opinion concerning the speculations of others which commend themselves to him, and seem praiseworthy, never to suppress by silence (anything) nor to dissimulate by disreputable jealousy.

I think I have read in the literary journals that you have made headway in bringing out the character of Sanscrit metres, and that you have published a work concerning the excellent prosody of this language. But these things lie outside my boundaries, and concerning them I think I ought to be instructed rather than pronounce a judgment.

Adieu, my illustrious sir; may I have your goodwill; go on (with your studies). I write (this) at Boissy—St. Léger, 9 miles from the city, on the 20th day of October in the year 1827.

THOLUCK TO EWALD[1]

Wenn ich Ihnen, hochgeehrter Herr Hofrath, die beiliegende Schrift übersende, so geschicht dies keineswegs in der Voraussetzung, dass dieselbe Ihren Beifall erhalten könnte. Ich weiss nur zu wohl, dass Ihnen vieles darin misfallen und irrig erscheinen muss.

Nur eine passende Gelegenheit sollte mir dadurch gegeben werden, da es mir bis dahin immer versagt worden; Sie persönlich kennen zu lernen, Ihnen auszusprechen, wie dankbar ich Ihnen—aller Verschiedenheit des dogmatischen Standpunktes ungeachtet für den Genuss und die Belehrung bin, welche ich Ihren Schriften verdanke, und bei Ausarbeitung jener Skizze aufs neue dankbar zu sein mich verpflichtet fühle. Seit Jahren wissen es die Zuhörer meiner Vorlesung über Encyklopädie, dass dies meine Gesinnung gewesen, und wie sehr ich namentlich Ihre Auslegung der Propheten dem Studium der Theologen empfohlen habe. Diesen Gefühlen war es mir Bedürfnis einmal Ausdruck zu geben, und ich denke, es wird auch Ihnen nicht unerfreulich sein, über allen Streit der Parteien hinweg eine solche anerkennende Stimme von einem älteren Theologen zu vernehmen.—In vorzüglicher Hochachtung, Ihr ergebenster,

A. THOLUCK.

HALLE, 4 *Nov.* 1860.

[1] Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 85.

Translation

In sending you the accompanying work,[1] highly honoured Mr. Privy Councillor,[2] this is not done by any means on the supposition that it will meet with your approval. I know but too well that much in it must displease you and appear erroneous.

But thereby an appropriate occasion has been given me, since, so far it has been denied me to make your personal acquaintance, to express to you how thankful I am to you, notwithstanding every difference of theological standpoint, for the enjoyment and instruction which I owe to your writing, and, in elaborating the above sketch, I felt myself under an obligation once more to be grateful to you. For years those who had listened to my lecture(s) on *Encyclopædia* know that this has been my opinion, and how much I have recommended especially your Exposition of the Prophets to the attention of theologians. It was incumbent upon me, for once, to give expression to this feeling, and I think it will be pleasant to you, away beyond the strife of parties, to accept from an old theologian such an acknowledgment.—With highest esteem, yours most humbly, A. THOLUCK.

HALLE, *Nov.* 4, 1860.

[1] It is the *Die Propheten und ihre Weisagungen* (*The Prophets and their Predictions*) that is almost certainly meant.

[2] Ewald was never Privy Councillor (Hofrath).

From Wilhelm von Humboldt to Ewald[1]

Was müssen Ew. Wohlgeboren denken, dass ich Ihren gütigen, von so interessanten Geschenken begleiteten Brief vom 28 October v. J. erst heute beantwortete und Ihnen erst heute meinen lebhaften Dank dafür abstatte? Ich würde mich gewiss dieser Versäumnis nicht schuldig gemacht haben, wenn ich nicht beim ersten Durchblättern Ihrer Grammatik einen zu grossen Reiz in mir gefühlt hätte, ehe ich Ihnen schriebe, wenigstens in einige Abschnitte tiefer einzudringen.

Dies habe ich nun gethan, und ich kann Ihnen nicht genug sagen, wie viel Freude und Belehrung ich aus dieser Beschäftigung geschöpft habe. Ich habe zugleich Gesenius' Lehrgebäude verglichen, und habe das Arabische über dieselben Abschnitte hinzugenommen.

Ew. Wohlgeboren haben die Sprache wie es mir scheint, ganz in ihrer wahren Eigenthümlichkeit aufgefasst, und sie in dem Geiste der neueren Sprachforschung, welche der Sprachbildung in ihren lebendigen Fortschritten nachzugehen strebt bearbeitet. Sie haben das hohe Alter des Hebräischen berücksichtigt, das was neuerer Bildung ist, davon geschieden, und überall den wichtigen Einfluss verfolgt, den das eigenthümliche Lautsystem auf die Former ausübt.

Ganz diesem philosophischen Geiste entsprechend habe ich es gefunden, dass Sie in dem etymologischen

[1] From Wellhausen, *op. cit.* 82 ff. The letter deals with the first edition of Ewald's Grammar.

Theil nur die Bildung der beiden angeblichen Tempora des Verbums ausführen und erst in der Syntax sich über Gebrauch und Bedeutung auslassen. Anfangs blieb mir diese Behandlung zweier bloss mit zahlen unterschiedenen Modi etwas dunkel, nachler aber habe ich geschen, wie richtig und aus dem Innersten der Sprache geschöpit sie ist.

Eben so sehr hat mich die Bearbeitung des Pronomen befriedigt. Ich gestehe freimüthig, dass ich in allen Punkten, in welchen Sie darin von Gesenius abweichen, ganz Ihrer Meinung bin.

In des hätte ich gewünscht, dass Ew. Wohlgeboren sich bestimmter über das erklärt hätten, was Sie nun in den verschiedenen Personen des Pronomen für dieselben charakteristisch halten. Bei der zweiten Person kann man nicht fehlgreifen. Aber die erste lässt mich ganz ungewiss. Der charakteristische Laut der Pronomina scheint mir in allen Sprachen, welche diese Einrichtung haben, leichter aus den Affixen herausgefunden werden zu können, als aus den selbständigen Wörtern. Dass die Affixa sich bis zu ihrer geringen Tonlosigkeit[1] abgeschliffen haben, ist zwar wahr, aber doch mit Unterschied zu verstehen, und dagegen nicht zu vergessen, dass die selbständigen Pronomina Vorschläge und Endungen bekommen haben, wie das sanskritische *aham* beweist. Das hindert nicht, dass die längeren Formen doch die älteren sein können, wie Ew. Wohlgeboren von *anoki* beweisen. Aber die Abkurzung erhält doch in der

[1] "geringe Tonlosigkeit" steht deutlich zu lesen, beruht aber wohl auf irgend einem Versehen.—W.

Regel wohl den wesentlichen Laut, wenigstens so lange er erkannt wird. In *anoki* deutet doch wohl nicht Alles das Pronomen an.

Mir kommt immer vor, als sei *n* der charakteristische Laut der ersten Person, nur freilich mit *i* verbunden; denn der Vokal scheint gleich wesentlich. Es lässt sich, zwar sehr viel dagegen sagen: 1. das blosse *i* als Suffix der Nomina; 2. das *a* (Aleph) als Präfix des zweiten Modus; 3. das *n* im Pronomen der *zweiten* Person im Arabischen, das nach Gesenius noch im Dagesch forte sichtbar ist.

Diese letzte Einwendung halte ich für die wichtigste. Denn im Präfix und Suffix könnte die Eile über das *n* hinweggehen. Und dass die Auslassung im Suffix nicht absichtlich war, beweist das Verbalsuffix *ni*. Hier leiten Ew. Wohlgeboren das *n* sehr richtig aus dem Pronomen ab. Die Lehre der arabischen Grammatiker vom *Nun cavendi* ist so sonderbar, dass man sich nicht genug wundern kann, dass auch ein Mann wie Sacy sie noch beibehält.

Dieses und der Plural scheinen mir ganz entscheidend. Dass Sie diesen als eine Verdoppelung ansehen, ist sehr scharfsinnig.

Möchte nicht im *ki* von *anoki* wieder eine Verwechslung des weichen *k* mit *t* sein, so dass dies *ki* eins wäre mit der Verbalendung *ti*? so wie die Verbalendung *ta* dieselbe ist mit *ka*.

Man könnte wohl auch das *n* als (nur) dem Plural wesentlich ansehen, wie es ihn im zweiten Modus wirklich charakteristisch bezeichnet und wie im Sanskrit und mehreren Sprachen die erste Person

nur im Plural *n* hat. Im Singular wäre dann *an* blosser Vorschlag. Aber wenn der Plural verdoppelter Singular ist, so fällt das hinweg.

Das einzige Präfixum des zweiten Modus ausgenommen, ist *i* immer da, wo die erste Person bezeichnet wird. Es scheint also dieser Laut das Wesentlichste derselben. Es scheint mir jedoch nicht, dass das Jod, was hier immer concurrirt, im geringsten hier mit seiner Consonantennatur einwirke; und ein blosser Vokal ist doch wohl nicht der wesentliche Laut eines Pronomen?

Im Sanskrit *ah—am* liegt das Charakteristische, wie es mir vorkommt, in dem Hauch; das Wort ist gleichsam die Andeutung des Athmens. So unser *ich* und *ego*. Sollte davon auch das -oki herkommen und doch eine alte eigene Pronominalform mit blossem Vorschlag von *an* sein?

Wüssten Ew. Wohlgeboren mir diese Zweifel zu lösen, so würde ich Ihnen ausnehmend dafür verpflichtet sein.

Dass die Verbindung der semitischen Studien mit den sanskritischen in Ew. Wohlgeboren von den ersteren ausgeht, ist, da es bei Bopp und Anderen gewissermaassen umgekehrt ist, ein günstiger Fall, der zu neuen Aufklärungen führen wird. Auch in dieser Beziehung wünsche ich Ihrer Universität Glück Sie nunmehr durch eine feste Anstellung zu besitzen.

Ich bitte Ew. Wohlgeboren die Ausführlichkeit dieses Briefs und die fremde Hand, die ich brauche, weil sie leserlicher ist als die meinige, gütigst zu

entschuldigen. Erhalten Sie mir Ihr gütiges Wohlwollen und genehmigen Sie die Versicherung meiner ausgezeichneten Hochachtung und aufrichtigen Ergebenheit. HUMBOLDT.

BERLIN, den 18 *Januar* 1828.

Translation

What must your Honour[1] think, that it is only to-day I answer your letter of October 28th of last year, which was accompanied by such interesting presents, and give you hearty thanks for the same? I would not have excused myself for this delay were it not that at my first skimming over your Grammar I felt a strong desire to penetrate more deeply into at least some parts before writing to you.

I have now done this, and I cannot sufficiently tell you how much joy and instruction I have derived from this occupation. I have at the same time compared Gesenius's Lehrgebäude, and have added the Arabic relating to the same parts.

Your Honour has conceived the language in its true characteristics as it appears to me, and you have elaborated it in the spirit of modern linguistic research, which endeavours to approach the forms of language in its organic development. You have noticed the great age of Hebrew, separated from it what is of later growth, and throughout tracked the important influence which the peculiar vowel system has exerted upon the forms.

[1] Literally, your "well-born."

I have found that, in thorough accord with this philosophical spirit, you have developed only the form of the two assumed tenses of the verb in the etymological part, expressing yourself in the syntax for the first time on the use and meaning of the same. In the beginning this treatment of two modes,[1] distinguished only by numbers, appeared a bit dark; but afterwards I saw how right it is, and how it is derived from the very heart of the language.

Your treatment of the pronouns has pleased me quite as much. I admit freely that, wherein you deviate from Gesenius, I am wholly of your opinion.

I could have wished that your Honour had expressed yourself more definitely concerning what you hold to be characteristic in the various persons of the pronouns. As regards the second person, one cannot miss his way. But the first person leaves me quite uncertain. The characteristic sound of the pronouns appears to me in all languages which have such an arrangement to be more easily found from the affixes than from the independent words. It is true that the affixes have been worn down so as to be slightly toneless,[2] but this must be understood with a difference; and, on the other hand, it is not to be forgotten that the independent pronouns have assumed additions at the beginning and at the end, as the Sanscrit *aham* shows. This does not make it impossible for the longer forms to be nevertheless the older ones, as

[1] See pp. 48 ff., 84.

[2] Wellhausen points out that what Humboldt says here arises from a misapprehension.

your Honour may see from *anoki*. But the shortened form retains, as a rule, the essential sound, at least as long as that can be recognised. The whole of *anoki* does not indicate the pronoun.

It appears always to me as if *n* were the characteristic sound of the first person (singular), only indeed joined with *i*, since the vowel seems equally essential. But indeed much can be said against this: 1. The *i* alone of the nominal suffix (of this person and number); 2. the *a* (Aleph) as prefix of the second mode (Imperf.); 3. the *n* in the pronoun of the second person, which, according to Gesenius, is still seen in the Dagesh Forte.

I consider this last objection the most weighty. For in prefix and suffix the hurried utterance might well pass over the *n*. And that the omission (of the *n*) in the suffix was not intentional is proved by the verbal suffix *ni*. Here your Honour quite correctly derives the *n* from the pronoun.

The doctrine of the Arabic grammarians about *Nun Cavendi* is so remarkable that it cannot be too much wondered at that a man like Sacy still retains it.

This and the plural seem to me to be decisive. That you regard this (the plural) as a reduplication (of the singular) is very ingenious.

May there not in *ki* of *anoki* be further an interchange of the soft *k* with *t*, so that this *ki* should be one with the verbal ending *ti*? just as the verbal ending *ta* is the same as *ka*.

It is possible to regard the *n* as essential to the plural (only), just as, in the second mode (Imperfect),

it (*n*) really marks it (the plural) in a characteristic way, and as in Sanscrit and several languages the first person has *n* in the plural only. In that case *an* would be merely prosthetic. But if the plural is merely a duplicated singular, this falls to the ground.

With the exception of the prefix of the second mode (Imperfect), *i* is to be found wherever the first person is expressed. This sound appears therefore to be an essential part of the same.

Nevertheless it appears to me that the yod, which is always written with the vowel, exercises its consonantal character in the very smallest degree; and a mere vowel is, however, not the essential sound of the pronoun?

In the Sanscrit *ah—am*, the characteristic part appears to me to lie in the aspirate; the word is likewise the expression of the breathing. So our *ich* and *ego*. May the (ending) come from this and so be an old peculiar pronominal form with prosthetic *an*?

If your Honour were able to dissolve for me these doubts, I should be exceptionally obligated to you for the same.

That the connection of Semitic studies with Sanscrit has with your Honour its starting-point in the first (Semitic), which is the reverse of what obtains in a certain degree in Bopp and others, is a favourable incident, which will lead to fresh explanations. In this respect, too, I wish your Universität success in holding you now more than ever by a fixed appointment.

I beg your Honour to please excuse the fulness of

this letter and the strange hand which I use, because it is more legible than mine. Accept my best wishes for your welfare, and be assured of my outstanding respect and sincere humility.

HUMBOLDT.

BERLIN, *January 18th*, 1828.

FROM MAX MÜLLER TO CHARLES KINGSLEY[1]

Ranke (the Popes, etc.) is staying here for a week, and is very anxious to make your acquaintance. Could you come here for a day to see him? He dines with us next Saturday, but any other day will do.

Next Monday Ewald will be here; he has been here for a fortnight, but comes back all the way from Penrith to see Stanley. If our spare room is occupied (we expect the Walrands) we can always get you a bed close by. I think you would like Ewald—more even than Ranke.[1]

Canon Farrar records an incident of this visit of Ewald to Oxford, as follows:[2]—

"Ranke and Ewald were both in Oxford in the middle of the Long Vacation. I determined to ask them to dinner together, though I dreaded a little friction between them, of Göttingen *versus* Berlin, and of Theology *versus* Modern History. I asked Canon Stanley and Müller to meet them. It was

[1] See *Life and Letters of the Right Hon. Max Müller*, 1902, i. 296.
[2] *Ibid.* 266.

due to Müller's extreme tact that the conversation was kept up and yet friction avoided. Ranke, oddly enough, had his head full of the probable danger to be apprehended in reference to European politics from Servia and Bulgaria (which afterwards proved true), and we could not get him to talk with interest on anything else. Müller showed his cleverness and shrewd common-sense by imparting a vein of humour to the conversation, which prevented a painful outburst of disagreement, for Müller had a vein of true humour.

"It was not sallies of wit, abrupt outbursts of the comic, but a playful fun which flowed like a purling brook, intertwining itself with conversation, and which put crooked spirits in harmony."

II. WILHELM GESENIUS

Since penning the all too brief account of this scholar which appears at page 53, Mr. Hermann Gesenius has, at the kind suggestion of Professor Kautzsch of Halle, forwarded to me a pamphlet written and published by himself[1] on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of his celebrated grandfather. With the aid of this brochure, I am glad to be able to give fuller details regarding the life and work of one to whom Hebrew learning owes so much.

[1] Wilhelm Gesenius: ein Erinerungsblatt an den hundertjährigen Geburtstag am 3 Februar 1886: Kindern und Kindeskindern gewidmet von Hermann Gesenius. 8vo, 1–27. Halle, 1886.

He was born February 3, 1786, at Nordhausen, a town situated among the Hartz Mountains, belonging since 1815 to Prussia. He died at Halle on the 23rd day of October 1842, at the age of fifty-six and a half — extraordinarily young for the extraordinary work he accomplished!

His full name was Heinrich Friedrich Wilhelm Gesenius, but in his later writings and in letters of his later years he is simply Wilhelm Gesenius.

His father bore the name Wilhelm Gesenius, and was esteemed and beloved as man and as physician. The son was trained in the first instance privately. At the age of eleven he entered the local Gymnasium, and was, though so young, sufficiently advanced to join the third form from the top (*Tertia*). His taste for Hebrew was created at the Gymnasium, before quitting which for the university he was the best Hebraist in the school. He entered upon his university studies in September 1803, at the age of seventeen and a half, the very year Ewald was born. The university which he chose was that of Helmstedt in the district of Brunswick, a university which was closed in 1809. In 1806 he took his degree of Ph.D., and became teacher in the Helmstedt Gymnasium. From the first and throughout his life he proved to be a most lucid, enthusiastic, and inspiring teacher. Nothing about him was more striking than his capacity as teacher. At the close of 1806 he went to Göttingen, to succeed his subsequently much attached friend Wegscheider as Repetent in Theology —a position taken up by Ewald at the same university

eighteen years later.[1] Besides teaching Hebrew and Arabic grammar, and lecturing on *Genesis*, *Psalms*, etc., he gave instruction also in classics, reading with pupils the *Odyssey*, Hesiod's *Days*, and Juvenal's *Satires*. Among Gesenius's admiring hearers at Göttingen was Neander, so well known in after-years as Church historian. Heyne, the great classical scholar (†1812), and Eichhorn, the Orientalist,[2] appeared to be both of them jealous of the young man who was making so great a stir by his lectures on Classical and Oriental subjects. Gesenius felt that his relations with these two influential men were too strained to make promotion at Göttingen likely; so in March 1809 he accepted a teachership at the Roman Catholic Gymnasium, Heiligstadt, not far from Göttingen. In 1810 he was appointed Assistant Professor[3] of Theology at Halle, becoming in the following year full Professor.[4] It was at Halle that his wonderful powers as a teacher had their freest play and their amplest reward. His classes were very largely attended, as many as a thousand at one time joining those that were of a less technical character.[5] In his power of drawing students he is to be compared with Harnack, now of Berlin. His untiring energy was on a level with his enthusiasm. When his last illness came on he would leave his sickbed in order to meet his classes, returning on legs that were tottering, and almost failing to reach

[1] See p. 13.
[2] See p. 4 ff.
[3] Ausserordentliche Professor.
[4] Ordentliche Professor.
[5] *Wilhelm Gesenius*, p. 7.

the bed which the doctors kept on telling him he ought not to have left.

In 1813 he founded the Exegetical Society, and to its weekly meetings he invited all theological students, whether or not they belonged to his classes. In these gatherings he encouraged the freest discussion, and anyone was welcome to criticise what he (Gesenius) had said or written. In 1826 this Society became merged in the seminar or weekly discussion class which German professors conduct, and which most pupils find the most interesting and profitable class of the week.

Among his distinguished pupils the following may be named:—Peter von Bohlen, the Sanscritist (†1840, aged forty-four), Hoffmann of Jena, Hupfeld,[1] Rödiger of Halle and Berlin, Vatke of Berlin, and the Baptist Hebraists Benjamin Davies of London and Frederick William Gotch of Bristol—both these last members of the Old Testament Revision Committee.

Gesenius had much of that all-roundness that was so characteristic of Ewald. He made a special study of Samaritan, and edited many texts in that language. He published in three quarto volumes a work on *Phœnician Inscriptions*,[2] with a Grammar of the language, and with vocabularies which are still useful to the student of comparative Semitic.

His greatest achievements were, of course, in Hebrew grammar and lexicography. In the spring

[1] See p. 54 ff.

[2] Vols. i. and ii. (or rather parts), i–xxviii, 1–481; vol. iii. contained facsimiles only.

of 1892 Dillmann told me in his study in Schill Strasse, Berlin, that up to then no Hebrew Lexicon to be compared with the *Thesaurus* had appeared. The statement was suggested by remarks he was making about the first part of the Oxford Hebrew Lexicon which he held in his hand, and which had been sent him for review. Dillmann added that every student of Hebrew must make his own lexicon.

Gesenius wrote a Commentary on *Isaiah*, a second edition of which came out in 1829. It is, as far as I am aware, the only Commentary that he published. The first edition, in three octavo volumes, appeared in 1821–22, and contains an aggregate of 1577 pages. Ordinary students of the Hebrew text would find it much more immediately useful than Ewald's Commentaries, as the notes are brief and have to do with the Hebrew words, their form, meaning, etc., such information as the Versions and cognate languages have it in them to give being plentifully supplied. But Gesenius never penetrated into the thought of the author or authors as Ewald could and did. Ewald was often too original to be clear—too much lost in the thought of his text to attend sufficiently to the text itself and the objective aids to its understanding.

Does not the same remark fall to be made about the Hebrew Grammars of the two men? That of Gesenius was objective, matter-of-fact, clear in statement, and distinct in arrangement. Ewald is not content without digging down to the underlying conceptions of the language, the causes which have

contributed to make it the language it is. Hence it is that Gesenius's Grammar had greater vogue than Ewald's among students of the usual kind; hence it is that Gesenius's Grammar[1] continues to be edited down to our time, and continues to be used more than any other. It is a thousand pities that two men so great and good as Gesenius and Ewald could not see the value of each other's work, and give each other credit for purity and even loftiness of motive. Be it remembered that Gesenius died at the age of fifty-six; Ewald lived to be seventy-two years old. Had Gesenius lived another sixteen years, and had he been freed from academic duties, as Ewald was for the last nine years of his life, it is impossible to speculate what further and higher work he might have accomplished. Reference has been already made[2] to the bad feeling that existed between Eichhorn and Gesenius when the latter was Repetent at Göttingen. It is not at all unlikely that Eichhorn communicated to Ewald, his favourite pupil, some of the ill-will he bore to Gesenius. Ewald was so strong in his emotions, his likes and dislikes, that it was very difficult to disabuse him of a personal impression that had once found lodgment in his mind.

[1] Gesenius's Hebrew Grammar, as edited and enlarged by E. Kautzsch. Translated by G. W. Collins, M.A., and A. E. Cowley, M.A., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898. Price 21s. The 27th German edition came out in 1902; the Paradigms, etc., separately. Price for the complete work, bound, 7s.

[2] P. 125.

Gesenius, like Ewald, suffered much at the hands of the extreme orthodox party. In 1830 Hengstenberg, in the recently (1827) founded *Die Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, of which he was editor, made a violent attack upon the alleged Rationalism of Gesenius's teaching.[1] Neander, a former pupil of the man so furiously attacked, Bretschneider, and others, stood up for Gesenius. By others he was suspected; by some he was defended. But, though as sensitive as a bird, he had not in him the fight that Ewald displayed, and he probably for that reason felt adverse criticism the more keenly.

He was the soul of good fellowship, and loved to be in company. Many the friendly gatherings he used to have in his house. He was noted for his hospitality, and was specially kind to students. But he was most of all happy in the bosom of his own family, and no home had more love in it than his.

He died October 23, 1842, of a disease of the stomach, which came on in 1836. In 1820 and 1823 he suffered from other serious illnesses. He was by no means physically the strong man that Ewald was, though in the fifty-six years he lived he accomplished work which in quantity and quality few men have equalled.

[1] In his English edition of Gesenius's Hebrew Lexicon, Tregelles undertakes to purge the work of the Rationalism of its author. See his Preface.

III. SCHLEIERMACHER ON THE RELATION OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS. (See page 71.)

It is in his *Der Christliche Glaube*[1] that Schleiermacher, the great preacher and theologian, utters himself most fully and explicitly upon the above subject. The sections of this great theological masterpiece that deal with the matter are 12 and 132.[2] The author's method is to set at the head of each section a proposition, which is developed, illustrated, and enforced in a number of sub-sections.

The proposition of section 12 may be thus rendered into English:—

"Christianity stands in a special historical connection with Judaism; but, as regards its historical nature and its purpose, it stands in the same relation to Judaism and to Heathenism." The author goes on to point out that Christianity is in closer contact with the teaching of heathen philosophy at many points than with much that is in the Old Testament, as, for example, the legalism of the Pentateuch.

The proposition at the head of section 132 is this:[3] "The Old Testament Scriptures owe their position in our Bible, partly to the references made to these

[1] Berlin, third edition, 1835. The second and subsequent editions are much more satisfactory than the first edition.

[2] Pp. 77 ff. and 346 ff. of the third edition.

[3] A translation of this section and of the remarks made by Schleiermacher in explanation and defence of it can be seen in *The Age and Christianity*, by Robert Vaughan, D.D., 1853, p. 302 ff.

writings in the New Testament; partly to the historical connection between Christian worship and the Jewish Synagogue; but they do not on that account share the normal dignity or inspiration of the New Testament."

In later life Schleiermacher preached almost exclusively from the New Testament. He did not think that Christ needed the support of Old Testament history or prophecy, since He shines by His own inherent light and is His own evidence. Ewald differed *toto cœlo* from Schleiermacher in the very exalted place which he gives the history and literature of the Old Testament as involving and issuing in the religion of Jesus Christ.

IV. SCHULTENS ON THE HEBREW TENSES

(See p. 81 ff.)

After penning the lines on p. 81 ff. concerning Schultens's doctrine of the Hebrew Tenses, I have been able to purchase and consult two works by him dealing with Hebrew, namely, *Institutiones ad Fundamenta Linguæ Hebrææ*[1] and *Origenes Hebrææ*.[2]

In the former the author[3] divides Hebrew verbs into *Perfect* and *Imperfect*; but by these he means simply what are now called *Regular* and *Irregular*.

The following is his definition of *Imperfect* verbs:[4] "*Imperfecta* vocari solent *verba* quæ vel *numerum trium radicalium* excedunt, vel *eundem* non implent;

[1] Lugduni Bat. 1737.
[2] *Ibid.* 1761.
[3] Pp. 256 and 310.
[4] *Institutiones*, p. 310.

partim per *elisionem*, adhibito *Dagesh forti*; quem *defectum* appellant: partim per *quietum*, quum aliqua e *Litteris Aleph*, *waw*, and yod [1] *motum* suum amittit." (The italics are the author's, not mine.)

In speaking of the *Tempora* he says there are strictly only two—*Præteritum* and *Futurum*.[2]

[1] Printed in Hebrew in the original.

[2] *Institutiones*, p. 257.

APPENDIX II

BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE following is as complete a list as the writer is able to compile of the books and pamphlets which Ewald wrote. But it has to be remembered that he wrote a very large number of articles and reviews for the *Göttinger Gelehrten Anzeigen* and for the Transactions of the "König. Societät der Wissenschaften," as well as for other publications. These contributions deal not only with Old Testament and Semitic themes, but also with Hellenistic and early Christian literature, with Sanscrit, Coptic, and Phœnician, and with other subjects. I regret it is not, at present, in my power to give a more detailed account of such contributions, but Dillmann says [1] the number of them is very large, and the value great, though they are almost wholly unknown in England.

1. *Die Composition der Genesis Kritisch Undersucht.* 8vo (i–viii, 1–291). Braunschweig, 1823.
2. *De metris Carminum Arabicorum, libri duo.* 8vo (i–viii, 1–147). Brunsvigæ, 1825.

[1] *Im Neuen Reich*, 1875, p. 780.

3. *Das Hohelied Salomo's*, übersetzt mit Einl., Anmerkungen etc. 8vo. Göttingen, 1826.
4. *Kritische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache, ausführlich bearbeitet.* 8vo (i–iv, 1–684). Leipzig, 1827.
5. *Über einige ältere Sanskrit-metra, ein Versuch.* 12mo (1–24). Gött. 1827.
6. *Wakedii libri de Mesopotamiæ expugnatæ historia pars e cod. Arab. edita et annotatione illustrata.* 4to. Gött. 1827.
7. *Grammatik der heb. Sprache . . . in vollständige Kürze neu bearbeitet.* 8vo. Leipzig, 1828.

   (This is a smaller work than 4, but every part has been reconsidered and improved.)

   2nd edition, much improved. 8vo. Leipzig, 1835.

   This edition was put into English by Mr. (afterwards Dr.) John Nicholson, of Penrith, a pupil of Ewald's at Göttingen and at Tübingen (*A Grammar of the Hebrew Language of the Old Testament.* London, 1836). Dr. Nicholson was father of the late Mrs. Alexander Ireland, of Manchester.

   3rd edition, still further improved. 1838.
8. *Commentarius in Apocalypsin.* 8vo. Leip. 1828.
9. *Grammatica critica linguæ Arabicæ, cum brevi metrorum doctrina.* 2 vols. 8vo. Vol. i. (i–x, 1–395). Lipsiæ, 1831. Vol. ii. (i–vi, 1–348). Lipsiæ, 1833.
10. *Abhandlungen zur orientalischen und biblischen Literatur.* Theil I. (all that appeared). 8vo (i–viii, 1–156). Gött. 1832.
11. *Die poet. Bücher des Alten Bundes erklärt.* 8vo. 4 (parts) vols. Gött.

Theil I. *Algemeines über die heb. Poesie und über das Psalmenbuch.* Crown 8vo (i–xlvi, 1–232). Gött. 1839.

Theil II. *Die Psalmen.* Crown 8vo (i–iv, 1–404). Gött. 1835.

2nd edition. 1840.

3rd edition (including *Klaglieder*). 8vo (i–xviii, 1–528). Gött. 1866.

Theil III. *Das Buch Ijob.* Crown 8vo (1–325). Gött. 1836.

Theil IV. *Sprüche Salomo's: Koheleth: Zusätse zu den fruherern Theilen und Schluss.* Crown 8vo (1–260). Gött. 1837.

An improved edition appeared in three 8vo volumes under the title *Die Dichter des Alten Bundes.* Gött.

Theil I. *Die Psalmen* (with long and valuable Introduction on Hebrew Poetry). (i–x, 1–299 + 1–528.)

The combined work appeared in 1866, but the Commentary is in a 3rd edition, the Introductory part in a 2nd.

Theil II. *Die Salomonischen Schriften.* (i–xxxvi, 1–428.) Gött. 1867. (2nd edition.)

Theil III. *Das Buch Ijob.* (i–xxiii, 1–344.) Gött. 1854. (2nd edition.)

Of the *Dichter* the following portions have been put into English, and published by Williams & Norgate:—*Psalms*, two 8vo vols., by Rev. E. Johnson, M.A., 1880; *Job*, by J. F. Smith, one 8vo vol. (i–vi, 1–349). 1882.

The Introductory volume on the *Psalms*—that dealing with Hebrew Poetry in general—was translated

by Dr. John Nicholson, of Penrith, translator of Ewald's Hebrew Grammar. This translation appeared in the first volume of the *Journal of Sacred Literature* (1848), 74 ff. and 295 ff., and is made from the first edition of the German (1839).

12. *Die Propheten des Alten Testaments.* Two vols. (Theile) crown 8vo. Stuttgart, 1840–1841.

A second edition in three 8vo vols. appeared as follows:—Band I. (1–537), Band II. (i–xviii, 1–566), Band III. (i–xvi, 1–498). All published at Göttingen in 1867, 1868, 1868 respectively. This edition has appeared in English in five 8vo vols., translated by J. Frederick Smith (Williams & Norgate, 1875–1881).

Two out of the three sections constituting the Introduction to Ewald's work on the *Prophets* was published in an English rendering by E. S. in the third volume of the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, pp. 329–382. This rendering is made from the first German edition.

Rev. Octavius Glover, M.A., of Loughborough, translator of vol. v. of the *Geschichte*, issued a translation of Ewald's *Commentary on Isaiah.* 8vo (i–xxxix). London, 1869.

13. *Drei Worte für Freunde und Verständige.* Basel, 1838.

14. *Worte an Herrn Klenze in Hannover.* 8vo (1–76). Basel, 1838.

15. *De feriarum hebræorum origine ac ratione.* Gött. 1841.

16. *Hebräische Sprachlehrer für Anfänger.* 8vo. Leipzig, 1842; 2nd ed., 1853; 3rd ed., 1862; 4th ed., 1874.

Translated into English by J. Frederick Smith. Ewald's *Introductory Hebrew Grammar.* 8vo (i–xii, 1–267). London: Asher & Co. 1870.

17. *Geschichte des Volkes Israel.* Vol. i., 1843; vol. ii., 1845; vol. iii., 1847; vol. iv., 1852; vol. v., 1855; vol. vi., 1858; vol. vii., 1859.

Die Alterthümer, a supplement to vol. ii., 1848.

2nd edition of vols. i.–iii., enlarged, 1851–1853.

A third edition of the whole work appeared in 1864–69, and contains, in all, 5300 8vo pages, including the *Alterthümer*; or an average of over 662 pages for each of the eight volumes.

The whole work has been translated into English by the late Russell Martineau, M.A. (vols. i. and ii.), Professor J. Estlin Carpenter, M.A. (vols. iii.–v.), J. F. Smith (vols. vi.–viii.). The *Antiquities* was translated by H. S. Solly, M.A., and has appeared in one edition only (1876).

Vol. v. of the *Geschichte* was translated into English also by Rev. Octavius Glover, M.A., Rector of Loughborough, under the title *The Life of Christ* (Cambridge, 1865).

The translation of vols. i. and ii. of the *History* have appeared in a 4th edition, "thoroughly revised and corrected," 1883.

18. *Über die Arabisch geschriebenen Werke jüdischer Sprachgelehrten, Mit einer Abhandlung über den gegenwärtigen Zustand der Alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft.* 8vo (i–xxiv, 1–160). Stuttgart, 1844.

(Vol. i. of *Beiträge zur Geschichte des ältesten Anlegung und Spracherklärung des alten Testaments*, von Heinrich Ewald und Leopold Dukes. Vols. ii. and iii. were contributed by Dukes. This volume is the result of studies carried on in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, during four weeks of his stay in

England in 1838. In the *Vorwort* Ewald complains of the strict rules of the great libraries of England, which prevent any book from being taken out of the building. The French and Germans manage things better, he thinks.)

19. *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache des alten Bundes.* 8vo. Leipzig, 1844.

Announced as 5th edition.

The material of the former editions of his Grammar, the first[1] appearing in 1827, was worked up into the *Ausführliches Lehrbuch* with much that was fresh. It is not, however, a fifth edition, but rather a first edition of a new work. Later editions of the *Ausführliches Lehrbuch* were issued as follows:—

"6th" edition (2nd really). Leipzig, 1855.

"7th" edition (3rd) (i–viii, 1–944). Leipzig, 1863.

"8th" edition (4th). Leipzig, 1870. This is a mere re-issue of edition "7th," with slight changes in the Preface.

The third part of edition "8th," which deals entirely with Hebrew Syntax, has been translated into English by James Kennedy, B.D. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1881). 8vo (i–vi, 1–323).

20. *Über einige wissenschaftliche Erscheinungen neuesten Zeit auf der Universität Tübingen.* Stuttgart, 1846.

21. *Über seinen Weggang von der Universität Tübingen mit anderen Zeit-betrachtungen.* Crown 8vo (1–40). Stutt. 1848.

22. *Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft.* 12 vols. 8vo. Gött. 1848–1865.

He not only edited these 12 vols., with an average

[1] See Nos. 4 and 7 of the Bibliography.

of nearly 300 pages apiece, but he wrote almost all the articles. Dillmann contributed to the *Jahrbücher* his translation of the *Book of Jubilees*, and articles on one or two other subjects. But Ewald wrote at least seven-eighths of the whole.

23. *Die drei ersten Evangelien übersetzt und erklärt.* 8vo. Gött. 1850.

See No. 35 for 2nd edition.

24. *Abhandlung über die phönikischen Ansichten von der Weltschöpfung und den geschichtlichen Werth Sanchuniathon's.* 4to. Gött. 1851.

25. *Abhandlung über des äthiopischen Buches Henôkh Enstehung, Sinn und Zusammensetzung.* 4to (1–78). Gött. 1854.

26. *Erklärung der gossen phönikischen Inschrift von Sidon und einer ägyptisch-aramäischen, mit den zuverlässigen Abbildern.* 4to (1–68). Gött. 1856.

27. *Die Sendschreiben des Apostels Paulus übersetzt und erklärt.* 8vo (i–xii, 1–496). Gött. 1857.

28. *Abhandlung über Enstehung Inhalt und Werth der sibyllinischen Bücher.* 4to (1–112). Gött. 1858.

29. *Über den Bau der Thatwörtern im Koptischen.* 4to. Pp. 157–219 of vol. 9 (1860) of the *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.* Separately published (?)

30. *Über den Zusamenhang des Nord.* (*Türkischen*), *Mitteländischen, Sem. und Koptischen Sprachstammes.* 4to. Pp. 3–80 of vol. 9 of *Abhandlungen* etc. Separately published (?)

See under Nos. 29 and 37.

31. *Die Johanneischen Schriften übersetzt und erklärt.* 8vo. Gött.

Vol. i. *Des Apostels Johannes Evangelium und drei Sendschreiben.* (i–iv, 1–516.) 1861.

Vol. ii. *Johannes' Apocalypse.* (i–xii, 1–439.) 1862.

32. *Das vierte Ezrabuch nach seinem Zeitalter, seinen arabischen Übersetzungen, und einer neuen Wiederherstellung.* 4to (1–100). Gött. 1863.

33. *H. Ewald über seine zweite Amtsentsetzung an der Universität Göttingen.* Stutt. 1868.

2nd edition, improved and enlarged. Crown 8vo (1–56). Stutt. 1868.

34. *Das Lob des Königs und des Volkes* (the king and people of Hanover meant). 4th edition, with supplementary remarks. Stutt. 1869.

He was prosecuted by the Prussian Government for high treason on account of some expressions in this book, and imprisoned for three weeks.

35. *Das Sendschreiben an die Hebräer und Jacobo's Rundschreiben übersetzt und erklärt.* 8vo (i–viii, 1–230). Gött. 1870.

36. *Sieben Sendschreiben des neuen Bundes übersetzt und erklärt.* 8vo (i–xv, 1–307). Gött. 1870.

37. *Abhandlungen über die Geschlichtliche Folge der semitischen Sprachen.* 4to (1–63). Gött. 1871.

Reprinted from vol. xv. (1870) of *Abhandlungen* etc. See under 29 and 30. Its sub-title is *Dritte Sprachwissenschaftliche Abhandlung.* Nos. 29 and 30 are the other two.

38. *Die Bücher des Neuen Bundes übersetzt und erklärt.* 2 vols. (parts) 8vo. Vol. i., i–xxvi, 1–452 (1871); vol. ii., i–iv, 1–515 (1872).

(A 2nd edition of No. 23, a Translation and Exposition of *Acts* being added.)

39. *Die Lehre der Bibel von Gott, oder Theologie des alten und neuen Bundes.* 4 vols. 8vo. Leipzig.

Vol. i. *Die Lehre vom Worte Gottes*, 1871.

Vols. ii. and iii. *Die Glaubenslehre*, 1873 and 1874.

Vol. iv. *Über das Leben des Menschen und das Reich Gottes*, 1876.

The late Principal Thomas Goadby, B.A., of the Midland Baptist College, Nottingham, translated the greater part of vol. i. under the title *Revelation: its Nature and Record* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1884). He translated also portions of vols. ii. and iii., giving the resulting volume the title *Old and New Testament Theology* (Edinburgh, 1888). Principal Goadby accomplished the difficult tasks of selection and translation with conspicuous success.

It should be added that Ewald was one of the founders of the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, and sketched its plan. No attempt has been made in the above Bibliography to register the innumerable articles which Ewald contributed to magazines, transactions of societies, and the like. The present writer would welcome any corrections of the list given above, or the naming of any books or pamphlets (title, size, editions, page, and date) that may be omitted.

40. *Abhandlung zur Zerstreuung der Vorurtheile über das alte und neue Morgenland.* 4to (1–58). Gott. 1872.

The works which have in part or entirely been rendered into English will be seen under Nos. 7 (*Hebrew Grammar*), 11 (*Psalms*, *Job*), 12 (*Prophets of the Old Testament*), 16 (*Introductory Hebrew*

Grammar), 17 (*History of Israel*), 19 (*Hebrew Syntax*), and 33 (*Die Lehre der Bibel von Gott*).

None of Ewald's New Testament writings have been Englished, with the exception of vol. v. of the *History of Israel* (*The Life of Christ*).

As far as I am aware, none of Ewald's writings have been translated into any language except English. Neither Canon Driver nor Professor Wellhausen knows of translations into other languages. If there are other versions of anything Ewald wrote (French, Dutch, etc.), the author will esteem it a favour to be informed of them.

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